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Hakluytus Posthumus
or
Purchas His Pilgrimes

In Twenty Volumes

Volume XX

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Hakluytus Posthumus

or

Purchas His Pilgrimes

Contayning a History of the World
in Sea Voyages and Lande Travells
by Englishmen and others

By

SAMUEL PURCHAS, B.D.

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VOLUME XX

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PUBLISHERS' NOTE

In issuing the last volume of 'Purchas His Pilgrimes,' the Publishers beg to express their thanks to the Subscribers who have made it possible to prepare a complete and uniform edition of 'Hakluyt's Voyages' and 'Hakluytus Posthumus or Purchas His Pilgrimes.' These voyages, to use the words of Hakluyt, contain a record or 'the principal navigations, voyages, traffics and discoveries of the English nation made by sea or over land to the remote and furthest distant quarters of the earth,' down to the year 1625; and more especially the fortunes and misfortunes of the English sailors in the Elizabethan period.

The Index of 'Purchas His Pilgrimes' has been prepared by Madame Marie Michon to whom also the Publishers were indebted for the preparation of the Index of 'Hakluyt's Voyages.'

Much condensation was needed to bring within workable limits an Index to the twenty volumes of Purchas, and the difficulties were greatly increased by the varieties of spelling common in the 16th and 17th centuries, by the frequent references to places under names now obsolete, and to minor personages whom it is now difficult to identify.

PUBLISHERS' NOTE

The Publishers cannot hope, notwithstanding the care bestowed upon it, that the Index is free from error, but they trust that it may be of some service to students of history, and especially to those interested in Elizabethan Voyages.

This edition is a reprint of the original edition of 1625, and has not been subjected to editorial revision; but the proofs of the whole work, including the Index, have been read by Mr. S. Douglas Jackson, who has made himself responsible for the accuracy of the text.

GLASGOW,
7th May, 1907.

THE TWENTIETH VOLUME

OF

Purchas His Pilgrimes

Contayning a briefe and true report of the Honourable Voyage unto Cadiz, 1596; with the Voyage to the Isles of Azores, 1597; the Conclusion of the Worke, and an Index

Chap. XIII.

A briefe and true report of the Honorable Voyage unto Cadiz, 1596. of the overthrow of the Kings Fleete, and of the winning of the Citie, with other accidents, gathered out of Meteranus, Master Hackluyt* and others.

M. Hackluit had published the large report of this Voyage written by one employed therein: out of which I have taken that which served our purpose.

Fter that Callis had beene taken by Cardinall Albert, Archduke of Austria, which afterwards by Papall dispensation married the Lady Isabella Eugenia Clara Infanta, who yet governeth the Belgians which acknowledge the Spaniard, Queene Elizabeth thought it fitter to invade the Spaniard at home, then to expect his forces here. The said Cardinall (and Archduke of Austria) had planted his unexpected siedge before Callis, and begun his unwelcome battery on Wednesday the 17. of April 1596. and the Towne desired truce for foure and twenty houres, which was rejected, whereupon they yeelded themselves presently upon condition of life and goods saved, and sixe dayes truce to be given them, with liberty either to stay in the Citie, or to goe to the Castle; and if the King of Navarre (Henry the fourth, the French King) did not in that space relieve them, they were to yeelde the Castle. Most of them betooke themselves to the Castle, and left their empty houses to the Conquerours.

The night before the truce expired, they began to

shoot at the Spaniards, who had now made so fatall preparations, that the next day, April 24. before noone they had beaten downe the wals and entered, the Governour of the Towne and divers others being slaine. Queene Elizabeth meane while had prepared aide, and the Souldiers and Ships at Leigh in Essex, were detained by the windes, which then were Easterly, and instead of carrying the English thither, brought hither the terrible thunders of the Spanish Ordnance; insomuch, that I have heard that they shooke the looser glasse out of the windowes in Dover and filled the shoares of Essex & Kent with the hideous reports of Calis her unavoidable ruine. And thus in so short time the Cardinall won that ancient Port, by Strabo called Itium, by Ptolomey Gessoriacum (as Meteranus collecteth) which had cost the English eleven moneths siedge, before they, under Edward the third, tooke it, An. 1346. They held it 202. yeers; at which time Francis Duke of Guise, in the unhappy daies of Queen Mary, and by reason of her unluckie joyning with the Spaniards in their warres against the French, recovered it in a few dayes unlooked for battery to the French, and therewith tooke* not that Towne alone, but the joy of life also from that unfortunate Queene; both which seeming disasters were the price of Englands faire purchases, both gaine and liberty in the dispersing of that Spanish cloud which from the time of the match had hovered over us, and of the concomitant Antichristian Papall Mists, which was a smoake from the bottomlesse pit to them which received it, and a fire to them which refused it of what degree soever: and in that as throwes of a grievous travell they brought forth a Virgin, both Truth to the Church, and Queene to the State; the one a fruitfull Mother to the soules, the other to the wealth, honour, domesticke peace, forraine victories, and Navall glorie of the English Nation. This renowned Queene, eight and thirty yeeres after, unable to alter that decree of the windes which now seemed themselves, and forced Calis, to become

*Q. Mary said before her death, that if they opened her, they should finde Callis in her heart.

Spanish; would try their windy fidelity in another expedition, and prepared a strong Fleet to invade the Spanish coast: The charge whereof she committed to the Lord Robert Earle of Essex, and the Lord Charles Howard Lord high Admirall of England, who came unto Plymmouth (about the beginning of May 1596.) being there accompanied with divers other noble Peeres, as the Earle of Sussex, the Lord Thomas Howard, the Lord Herbert, the Lord Warden Sir Walter Raleigh: the Lord Marshall Sir Francis Vere: the Lord Burk, Don Christopher yong Prince of Portugall, yong Count Lodovick of Nassaw, and the Admirall of the Hollanders, Sir John Vanderfoord: besides many other most worthy Knights and Gentlemen of great worth attending upon this most honorable Action: It pleased them, there to make their aboade for the time of that moneth, aswell for the new furnishing and revictualing of her Majesties Royall Navie: as also for the expecting of some other ships, which were to come from divers places of the Realme, and were as yet wanting.

Before their departure from Plymmouth, it pleased their Lordships to publish in Print, and make knowne to all the world, especially to such as it concerned, and that both in the Latine, French, Dutch, English, and Spanish tongue, what were the true, just, and urgent causes, that at this time provoked her Majestie to undertake the preparing and setting forth of this so great a Navie, namely the King of Spaines preparations against her, who had before whiles hee treated of peace, Anno 1588. prepared to invade her coast, and now also to that purpose daily encreased his Navie. If therefore any should furnish the Spaniard with munition and provisions, they should expect what force could doe: for all others of whatsoever Nation they advised them to forsake the Spanish and Portugall Ports, or to joyne with the English for their owne security, they having no quarrell in this designe but against the Spaniard.

Thus then, all things being in a very good order and [IV. x. 1928.]

well appointed, the most holy name of our Omnipotent God being most religiously and devoutly called upon, and his blessed and sacred Communion being divers times most reverently and publikely celebrated: being furnished with one hundred and fiftie good saile of ships, or thereabout: In the name of the most high and everliving God: the first day of June they embarked themselves, weighed Ancre, and hoysed up saile, and put to Sea onward their journey from the Sownds of Plymmouth, to shew her Majesties religious intendments in this exploit. I have thought good to adde here a Prayer made by her selfe (as was reported) and used, as it was fitted, for that designe.

MOst Omnipotent maker and guide of all our worlds masse, that onely searchest and fadomest the bottome of all our hearts conceits, and in them seest the true originals of all our actions intended: thou that by thy foresight doest truely discerne, how no malice of revenge, nor quittance of injurie, nor desire of bloudshed, nor greedinesse of lucre hath bred the resolution of our now set out Army, but a heedefull care, and wary watch, that no neglect of foes, nor over-suretie of harme might breede either danger to us, or glory to them: these being the grounds wherewith thou doest enspire the minde, we humbly beseech thee with bended knees, prosper the worke, and with best forewindes guide the journey, speede the victory, and make the returne the advancement of thy glory, the triumph of their fame, and surety to the Realme, with the least losse of the English bloud. To these devout petitions Lord give thou thy blessed grant.

The ninth of the same moneth comming something neere to the North Cape, in a manner in the same altitude, or not much differing, which was about 43. degrees, and something more, yet bearing so, as it was impossible to be descried from the land. There it pleased the Lords to call a select Councell, which was alwaies done by hanging out of a Flagge of the Armes of

England, and shooting off a great warning peece. Of this select or privie Counsell, were no moe then these: The two Lords Generall, the Lord Thomas Howard, the Lord Warden Sir Walter Raleigh, the Lord Marshall Sir Francis Vere, Sir George Cary Master of the Ordnance, Sir Coniers Clifford, and Sir Anthony Ashley, Clarke of the said Counsell. And when it pleased the Lords Generall to call a common Counsell (as oftentimes they did upon weighty matters best knowne to their honours) then they would cause another kinde of Flag to be hanged out, which was the red Crosse of S. George, and was very easie to be discerned from the other that appertained onely to the select Counsell, and so often as this Flag of S. George was hanged out, then came all the Masters and Captaines of all the ships, whose opinions were to be demanded, in such matters as appertained unto the said select Counsell: It was presently concluded, that our course in sailing should forthwith be altered, and that we should beare more into the West, for some purposes to them best knowne.

At that instant many Letters of instructions were addressed and sent to every particular Master and Captaine of the Ships: What the contents of those Letters of instructions were, it was not as yet knowne unto any, neither was it held meete to be enquired or knowne of any of us. But under the titles and superscriptions of every mans particuler Letter these words were endorsed. Open not these Letters on paine of your lives, unlesse wee chance to be scattered by tempest, and in that case open them, and execute the contents thereof: but if by mishap you fall into your enemies hand, then in any case cast them into the Sea, sealed as they are. It should seeme that these Letters did containe in them the principall place and meaning of this entended action, which was hitherto by their deepe foresights kept so secret, as no man to my knowledge either did or could so much as suspect it, more then themselves, who had the onely managing thereof.

All this while, our ships, God be thanked, kept in a most excellent good order, being devided into five squadrons: that is to say, The Earle of Essex, the Lord Admirall, the Lord Thomas Howard, the Lord Warden Sir Walter Raleigh, and the Admirall of the Hollanders. All which squadrons, albeit they did every day separate themselves of purpose, by the distance of certaine leagues, as well to looke out for such ships as were happily under saile, as also for the better procuring of Sea-roome: yet alwayes commonly either that day, or the next day, toward evening, they came all together, with friendly salutations and gratulations one to another; which they tearme by the name of Hayling: a ceremonie done solemnly, and in very good order, with sound of Trumpets and noise of cheerefull voyces: and in such sort performed as was no small encouragement one to the other, beside a true report of all such accidents as had happened in their squadrons.

Hitherto, as I said, our journey was most prosperous, and all our ships in very good plight, more then that the Mary Rose, by some mischance, either sprang or spent her foreyard, and two dayes after Sir Robert Crosse had in a manner the like mischance.

French and Flemming taken and dismissed.

Now being thus betweene the North Cape, and Cape S. Vincent, and yet keeping such a course a loofe, that by no meanes, those from the shoare might be able to descrie us: The tenth of June, a French Barke, and a Flemming comming from the coast of Barbarie were brought in by some of our company: but they were both of them very honorably and well used by the Lords Generall, and so after a few dayes tarrying, were peaceably sent away, after that they had conferred with them about such matters, as was thought good in their honorable wisedomes. The twelfth of the same moneth, Sir Richard Levison Knight, assisted with Sir Christopher Blunt, fought with three Hamburgers, and in that fight slew two of them, and hurt eleven, and in the end brought them all three in.

[IV. x. 1929.]

Hamburgers taken.

The next day after, Sir Richard Weston meeting with a Flemming, who refused to vaile his foretop, with the like good courage and resolution, attempted to bring him in. The fight continued very hot betweene them, for a good space: in the end, the Swan, wherein the said Sir Richard was, had her forebeake strooken off: and having spent before in fight the one side of her tire of Ordnance, while she prepared to cast about, and to bestow on him the other side, in the meane time the Flemming taking his opportunitie, did get almost halfe a league from him: and so for that time made his escape. And yet the next day after, the said Flemming being in a manner got to the very mouth of the River up to Lisbone, was taken, and brought in by Master Dorrell, being Captaine of the John and Francis of London.

The 13. 14. and 15. dayes, certaine little stragling Caravels were taken by certaine of the Fleete, and in one of them a yong beggerly Fryer utterly unlearned, with a great packet of Letters for Lisbon. *Letters taken.*

The 18. day early in the morning we tooke an Irishman, and he came directly from Cadiz, having beene there but the day before at twelve of the clocke at high noone. This man being examined, told truely that there was now great store of shipping at Cadiz, and with them eighteene or nineteene Gallies in a readinesse, and that among those ships there were divers of the Kings best: and namely, that the Philip of Spaine was amongst them, but what their intent was, hee could not tell. This man was commanded also to give his attendance. The 20. of June, being Sunday, wee came before Cadiz, very early in the morning, and in all this time as yet, the whole Navie had not lost either by sicknesse or by any other manner of waies six men to my knowledge. *Irishmans intelligence.* *They arrive at Cadiz.* *Some which professe martiall knowledge blame the not landing the first day, and say the weather served; but the scruple of sunday and other pretences lost a million of wealth.*

Thus then I say, being all in good plight and strong, the 20. of June we came to Cadiz, and there very early in the morning presented our selves before

the Towne, riding about a league or something lesse, from it. The Sea at that instant went marveilous high, and the winde was exceeding large. Notwithstanding, a Counsell being called, our Lords Generall forthwith attempted with all expedition to land some certaine Companies of their men at the West side of the Towne, by certaine long Boats, light horsemen, Pinnaces, & Barges made for the purpose, but could not compasse it, and in the attempting thereof, they chanced to sinke one of their Barges, with some foure-score good souldiers well appointed in her, and yet by good hap and great care, the men were all saved excepting eight. And therefore they were constrained to put off their landing till another more convenient time.

Doves lighting. That morning very timely, there lighted a very faire Dove upon the maine yard of the Lord Admirals ship, and there she sat very quietly for the space of three or foure houres. And as at our very first comming to Cadiz this chanced, so likewise on the very last day of our departing from the said Towne, another Dove presented her selfe in the selfe same order into the same ship, and presently grew wonderfull tame and familiar to us all, and did so still keepe us company, even till our arrivall here in England.

We no sooner presented our selves, but presently a goodly sort of tall Spanish Ships came out of the mouth of the Bay of Cadiz, the Gallies accompanying them in such good order, and so placed as all of them might well succour each other, and therewithall kept themselves very close to their Towne, the Castle, and the Forts, for their better guard and defence, abiding there still, and expecting our further determination. All that day passed, being very rough and boisterous, and little or nothing could be done, more then that about the evening there passed some friendly and kinde salutations sent one from the other in warlike manner, by discharging certaine great Peeces.

On monday morning being the 21. day, the winde and weather being become moderate and favourable, betweene five and six of the clocke in the morning, our ships in the name of the Almighty God, and in defence of the honour of England, without any further delay, with all speed, courage and alacritie, did set upon the Spanish ships, being then under saile, and making out of the mouth of the Bay of Cadiz, up toward Puente de Suaço on Granada side, being in number 59. tall ships, with 19. or 20. Gallies attending upon them, sorted in such good order, and reasonable distance as they might still annoy us, and alwaies relieve themselves interchangeably: having likewise the Castle, Forts, and Towne, continually to assist them and theirs, and alwayes ready to play upon us and ours. *The Spanish Fleete.*

In most mens opinions it seemed that the enemy had a wonderfull advantage of us, all circumstances being well weighed, but especially the straightnesse of the place, and the naturall forme and situation of the Bay it selfe, being rightly considered. For albeit the very Bay it selfe is very large and exceeding beautifull, so that from Cadiz to Port S. Mary, is some six or seven English miles over or there abouts, yet be there many rockes, shelves, sands, and shallowes in it, so that the very channell and place for sea roome, is not above two or three miles, yea, and in some places not so much, for the ships of any great burthen to make way in, but that they must either be set on ground, or else constrained to run foule one on another. All this notwithstanding, with great and invincible courage, the Lords generall presently set upon them, and sorting out some such convenient ships, as to their honorable wisedomes seemed fittest for that times service, they were driven to take some other course then before had beene by them entended. Wherefore upon a grave consultation had by a select counsell, they concluded that the Vice-admirall, the Lord Thomas Howard, in [IV. x. 1930.]

the Non Pareille for that time, and the Reare Admirall Sir Walter Raleigh in the Warspight, associated with Sir Francis Vere the Lord Marshall in the Rainbow, Sir George Cary Master of the Ordnance, in the Mary Rose, Sir Robert Southwell in the Lyon; having with them some of the Ships of London, and some of the Dutch squadron of reasonable burthen, should lead the dance, and give the onset, and that the two most noble Lords generall with some others of their companies, should in their convenient time and order, second the maine battell. The fight being begun and growne very hot, the Lord generall the Earle of Essex, being on Port Saint Mary side, upon a sudden and unlooked for of others, thrust himselfe among the formost into the maine battell. The other most honorable Lord generall understanding the most noble Earle to be in fight among them, and perceiving by the Master of his ship, the Arke royall, that for lacke of water, it was not possible, that he might put any neerer, without further delay, called presently for his Pinnace, and in the same Pinnace put himselfe, and his honorable son Lord William Howard, aboord the Honor de la mer, & there remained in the fight till the battell was ended. The fight was very terrible on all sides and so continued doubtfull till about one or two of the clocke in the afternoone: about which time the Philip, whom in very truth, they had all most fancie unto, began to yeelde, and give over, her men that remained alive shifting for themselves as they were able, and swimming and running ashoare with all the haste that they could possibly, and therewithall, at the very same instant themselves fired their ship, and so left her, and presently thereupon a great Argosie, with another mighty great ship, fired themselves in the like manner. Immediatly hereupon, the residue of the ships ran themselves on ground as far from us as they could, thereby purchased their owne safetie, or rather breathing space for the time. Of them all, two faire

The fight betwixt the two Fleetes.

Spanish losse.

ships onely were boorded and taken by our men with most part of their furniture in them, the one called S. Matthew, a ship by estimation of some twelve hundred tun, and the other S. Andrew, being a ship of not much lesser burthen. The Gallies, seeing this sodaine great victorious overthrow, made all the haste they could toward the Bridge called Puente de Suaço, and there shrowded themselves in such sort as our ships could not by any meanes possible come nigh them for lacke of water.

Two Apostles forced to preach English.

The Spanish ships in all were fifty nine, and as I said, all tall ships, and very richly furnished and well appointed, whereof some of them were bound for the Indies, and other fraighted and furnished for Lisbon, as themselves affirme: and had we not come that very time that we did, wee had certainly mist of them all.

Of what great wealth and riches these ships were, that I leave to other mens judgement and report, but sure I am, that themselves offered two millions and a halfe of ducats for the redemption of the goods and riches that were in them: which offer of theirs, albeit it was accepted of the Lords generall, and should have beene received, yet we were defeated of it, as hereafter shall be more at large declared.

In all this cruell terrible fight, there were not either slaine or hurt by any manner of meanes many above the number of 100. of our men; notwithstanding divers of our ships were many times shot thorow and thorow: yea and some of them no lesse then two and twenty times, as I was enformed by credible report of the Captaines and Masters themselves. I know not of any other hurt done, saving onely that Sir Robert Southwell, who alwayes shewed him selfe a most valiant resolute knight in all this action, making a little too much haste with his Pinnace to boord the Philip, had there his said Pinnace burnt with the Philip at the same instant, and yet by good care and diligence his men were saved. One other mischance hapned thus:

Flemmish mischance. One of the Flemmings Flie-boats, who had in all the conflict before, carried her selfe very well and valiantly, about ten of the clocke while the fight continued sharpest, chanced by great negligence and misfortune, to be fired and blown up by his owne powder, who could not have any fewer in him, then one hundred fighting men by all supposall, and so in the very twinkling of an eye, both ship and men were all cast away, excepting seven or eight, which by very good fortune, and great care and diligence of some of the other ships were saved.

Immediately upon this notable victory, without any further stay in all the world, the Lord generall the Earle *The English land.* of Essex put to shore, and landed about 3000. shot and pikemen: of the which number the one halfe was presently dispatched to the bridge Puente de Suaço, under the conduct of Sir Christopher Blunt, Sir Coniers Clifford, and Sir Thomas Gerard: with the other halfe, being about fifteene hundred, the most noble Earle of Essex himselfe, being accompanied with divers other honorable Lords, namely the Earle of Sussex, the [IV. x. Lord Harbert, the Lord Burk, Count Lodovick, 1931.] of Nassaw, the Lord Marshall Sir Francis Vere, with all expedition possible marched on foote toward the towne of Cadiz, which was about three English miles march. That time of the day was very hot and faint, and the way was all of dry deepe sliding sand in a *Bad way.* manner, and beside that, very uneven, and by that meanes so tiresome and painfull as might be. The enemie having reasonable companie both of horse and footemen, stood in a readinesse some good distance without the towne to welcome us, and to encounter the Lord Generall. But the most famous Earle with his valiant Troopes, rather running indeede in good order, then marching, hastened on them with such unspeakeable courage and celeritie, as within one houres space and lesse, the horsemen were all discomfited and put to flight, their leader being strooken downe at the

very first encounter; whereat the footemen being wonderfully dismaied and astonished at the unexpected manner of the Englishmens kinde of such fierce and resolute fight, retyred themselves with all the speede possible that they could, to recover themselves into the Towne againe. Which being done by them, with farre swifter legges then manly courage, our men were enforced to scale the wals: which thing in very deede, although it was not without great danger and difficultie to be performed: yet such was the invincible resolution, and the wonderfull dexteritie of the English, that in one halfe houre or thereabout, the enemy was repulsed, and the towne wall possessed, by the noble Earle himselfe, being in all this action, either the very first man, or else in a manner joined with the first.

The English enter the town.

The Town wals being then possessed, and the English Ensigne being there displaied upon them, with all speede possible they proceeded on to march through the Towne, making still their way with sword and shot so well as they could, being still fought withall at everie turne. The noble Earle was seconded by the noble Lord Admirall in person, who was accompanied with the noble Lord Thomas Howard, the most worthy Gentleman his Sonne (after Lord Howard) Sir Robert Southwell, Sir Richard Levison, and with divers other Gentlemen, his Lordships followers of good account: his Colours being advanced by that valiant resolute Gentleman, Sir Edward Hobby Knight. And thus he likewise marching with all possible speede on foote, notwithstanding his L. many yeeres,* the intolerable heate for the time, and the overtiring tedious deepe sands, with other many impediments: Yet in good time, joyned himselfe with the Earle and his companies, and gave them the strongest, and best assistance that he could.

**I have bin told by some of great worth then in this action, that they heard the Lord Admirall affirme that he was 68. yeers old, or between that and 70. who yet liveth 1624. crowned with silver haires and golden raies of glorious acts.*

Thus then the two Lords Generall with their companies being joined together, and proceeding so farre as the market place, there they were hotly encountered,

where and at what time, that worthy famous Knight Sir John Winkfield, being sore wounded before on the thigh, at the very entring of the Towne, and yet for all that no whit respecting himselfe, being carried away with the care he had to encourage and direct his Company, was with the shot of a Musket in the head most unfortunately slaine.

And thus before eight of the clocke that night were these two most noble Lords General, Masters of the market place, the forts, and the whole Towne and all, onely the Castle as yet holding out, and from time to time as they could, stil annoying them with seven battering peeces. By this time night began to grow on, and a kinde of peace or intermission was obtained by them of the Castle: to whom the Lords Generall had signified, that unlesse before the next day in the morning they would absolutely render themselves, they should looke for no mercie, but should every one be put to the sword: upon which message they tooke deliberation that night: but in the morning before breake of day they hanged out their flag of truce, and so without any further composition did yeelde themselves absolutely to their mercie, and delivered up the Castle.

The Castle delivered.

And yet notwithstanding all this, in the night time while they had this respite to pause and deliberate about the peacemaking, there were divers great and sodaine alarms given: which did breede some great outrages and disorder in the Towne. At every which alarm, the two Lords Generall shewed themselves marveilous ready and forward.

These things being done, and this surrender being made, present Proclamation was published, that the fury now being past, all men should surcease from all manner of bloud and cruell dealing, and that there should no kinde of violence or hard usage be offered to any, either man, woman, or childe, upon paine of death: permitting the spoyle of so much of the Towne

as was by them thought meete, to the common souldiers for some certaine daies. This honorable and mercifull Edict I am sure was streightly and religiously observed of the English: but how well it was kept by the Dutch, I will neither affirme, nor yet denie. For I perceive betweene them and the Spaniards there is an implacable hartburning, and therefore as soone as the Dutch squadron was espied in the fight, immediately thereupon both they of Sivil and Saint Lucar, and also some of some other places did not onely arrest all such Dutch ships, as dealt with them friendly by the way of trafficke and merchandise, and so confiscated their goods, but also imprisoned the Merchants and owners of the same, and as the report goeth, did intreat many of them with extreame cruelty thereupon.

Spaniards fire their ships.

In the meane while, the very next day, being the two and twentie day of June, all the Spanish ships which were left on ground in the Bay of Cadiz, where the great overthrow had beene but the day before, were by the Spaniards themselves there set on fire, and so from that time forward they never left burning of them, till every one of them, goods and all, as far as we know were burnt and consumed. This their doing was much marvelled at of us. Not long after the same time (three dayes as I remember) the gallies that were run on ground, did quit themselves, also out of that place, and by the Bridge of the Iland called Puente de Suaço, made their way round about the same Iland, and so by putting themselves to the maine Sea, escaped to a towne called Rotta, not farre off, but something up towards the towne of Saint Lucars, and there purchased their safety by that meanes. Thus was this notable victory, as well by Sea as by Land, both begun and in effect performed, within the compasse, in a manner, of foureteene houres: a thing in truth so strange and admirable, as in my judgement will rather be wondred at then beleeved of posteritie. And if ever any notable exploit in any age was com-

[IV. x. 1932.]

parable to Cæsars Veni, Vidi, Vici, certainly in my poore opinion it was this.

Cadiz described. The Towne of it selfe was a very beautifull towne, and a large, as being the chiefe See of the Bishop there, and having a good Cathedrall Church in it, with a right goodly Abbey, a Nunnery, and an exceeding fine Colledge of the Jesuites, and was by naturall situation, as also by very good fortification, very strong, and tenable enough in all mens opinions of the better judgement. Their building was all of a kinde of hard stone, even from the very foundation to the top, and every house was in a manner a kinde of a Fort or Castle, altogether flat-roofed in the top, after the Turkish manner, so that many men together, and that at ease, might walke thereon: having upon the house top, great heapes of weighty stones piled up in such good order, as they were ready to be throwne downe by every woman most easily upon such as passed by, and the streetes for the most part so exceeding narrow (I think to avoide the intollerable great heat of the Sun) as but two men or three at the most together, can in any reasonable sort march thorow them, no streete being broader commonly then I suppose Watling streete in London to be. The towne is altogether without glasse, excepting the Churches, yet with faire comely windowes, and with faire grates of Iron to them, and have very large folding leaves of wainscot, or the like. It hath very few Chimnies in it, or almost none at all: it may be some one chimney in some one or other of the lower out-roomes of least account, serving for some necessary uses, either to wash in, or the like, or else, now and then perchance for the dressing of a dish of meate, having, as it should seeme unto me, alwayes a greater care and respect how to keepe themselves from all kinde of great heate, the how to provide for any store of great roste. It had in it, by report of them that should know best it, some foure thousand and moe, of very good able fighting men, and sixe hundred

horsemen at the least. No question but that they were well furnished of all things appertaining thereunto especially so many good ships lying there, and being so well stored with all manner of munition, shot, and powder, as they were.

Of what wealth this towne should be, I am not able to resolve the asker; but as it should appeare by the great pillage by the common Souldiers, and some Marriners too, and by the goodly furnitures, that were defaced by the baser people, and thereby utterly lost and spoiled, as not worth the carrying away; and by the over great plenty of Wine, Oyle, Almonds, Olives, Raisins, Spices, and other such Grocery wares, that by the intemperate disorder of some of the rasher sort were knockt out, and lay trampled under feet, in every common high way, it should appeare that it was of some very mighty great wealth to the first owners, though perchance not of any such great commodity to the last subduers, for that I judge that the better part was most riotously and intemperately spent and consumed.

My Sexton T. Rowly, yet living, hath often told me that he had the rifling of a Jewellers or Goldsmiths house, and in his returne gave and sold for toies many Stones (which by his description seemed Rubies) of great bignes whereof he had his hatfull, which proved not worth an angel to his ignorant simplicity, never ordained to be rich.

The Wednesday, Thursday, and Friday following, the Lords Generall spent in counsell about the disposing of all matters, as well touching the towne and prisoners, as also concerning all other matters, thought meete of them in their honourable wisdomes, and in all that meane while did shew such honourable bounty and mercy, as is not able to be expressed. For not onely the lives of every one were spared, but also there was an especiall care had, that all the Religious, as well men as women, should be well and favourably intreated, whom freely without any manner of ransome or other molestation, they caused to be safely transported over to Port Saint Mary, a Towne in a manner as faire as Cadiz: but at that time, as the case did stand, certainely knowne to be of no wealth in the world, and it was some sixe or seven miles distant over against Cadiz, in a manner as Paules is against Southwarke, on the other side of the Bay, in a part of Andaluzia, subject to the

territorie of the Duke de Medina Sidonia. Moreover, at the same instant they did appoint that worthy Knight Sir Amias Preston, and some others in some convenient Barkes, to transport over to the said Towne safely and in good order, a hundred or moe of the better sort of ancient gentlewomen, and merchants wives, who were suffered to put upon themselves, some of them two, yea, some three suites Apparell, with some convenient quantitie of many Jewels, Chaines, and other ornaments belonging to their estate and degree.

Sir John Winkfield buried.

Upon Saturday, being the six and twentieth, Sir John Winkfield knight was buried, in honourable and warlike manner, so farre forth as the circumstances of that time and place could permit. At whose funerals the Navie discharged a great part of their Ordnance, in such order, as was thought meete and convenient by the Lords Generals command. The seven and twenty day being Sunday, in the Abbey the divine Service was had, and a learned Sermon was made there by one Master Hopkins, the right honourable Earle of Essex his Preacher, a man of good learning and sweete utterance, and even there the same day, something before the Sermon was made, these worthy Gentlemen following were Knighted by the Lord Generall. And here I am to signifie by the way, that two of these were Knighted three or foure daies before, and some three or foure moe were Knighted after that time, upon certaine occasions: but yet I hold it best (and I trust without offence) to recite their names in this place altogether.

[IV. x. 1933.]

June 21. 22. 27.

SIr Samuel Bagnal.
Sir Arthur Savage.
The Earle of Sussex.
The Lord Harbert.
The Lord Burke.
Count Lodowick.
Sir William Howard.
Sir George D'Eureux.
Sir Henry Nevel.
Sir Edmund Rich.
Sir Richard Leven.
Sir Peter Egomort.
Sir Anthonie Ashley.
Sir Henry Leonard.

Sir Richard Levison.
Sir Horatio Vere.
Sir Arthur Throckmorton.
Sir Miles Corbet.
Sir Edward Conway.
Sir Oliver Lambert.
Sir Anthony Cooke.
Sir John Townesend.
Sir Christopher Heydon.
Sir Francis Popham.
Sir Philip Woodhouse.
Sir Alexander Clifford.
Sir Maurice Barkley.
Sir Charles Blunt.
Sir George Gifford.
Sir Robert Crosse.
Sir James Escudamor.
Sir Urias Leigh.
Sir John Leigh, alias Lee.
Sir Richard Weston.
Sir Richard Wainman.
Sir James Wootton.
Sir Richard Ruddal.
Sir Robert Mansfield.
Sir William Mounson.
Sir John Bowles.
Sir Edward Bowes.
Sir Humfrey Druel.
Sir Amias Preston.
Sir Robert Remington.
Sir John Buck.
Sir John Morgan.
Sir John Aldridg.
Sir John Asshindon.
Sir Mathew Browne.
Sir John Acton.
Sir Thomas Gates.
Sir Gilly Mericke.
Sir Thomas Smith.
Sir William Pooley.
Sir Thomas Palmer.
Sir John Stafford.
Sir Robert Lovel.
Sir John Gylbert.
Sir William Harvie.
Sir John Gray.
Don Christ. Prince of Portugall.
Sir John Vanderfoord Admirall of the Hollanders.
Sir Robert Dudley. 8. August.

Being in Cadiz, attending upon my most honorable good Lord, I talked with certaine of the Religious men, such as I found learned, whereof indeede there were some, though not very many; I talked also with the Bishop of Cusco there, a grave aged comely man, and being of late chosen to that Bishopricke, he was as then to have gone to the Indies, had not we then taken him prisoner, and so staied his journey for that time.

It pleased the Lords generall to deale exceeding favourably with this said Bishop of Cusco: for it was their good pleasure to give him his free passage without any

ransome, and therewithall to let him to understand, that they came not to deale with Church-men, or unarmed men, or with men of peace, weaklings and children, neither was it any part of their meaning to make such a voyage for gold, silver, or any other their wealth and riches, etc. But that their onely comming was to meet with their dishonourable practises, and manifold injuries, and to deale with men of war and valour, for the defence of the true honour of England; and to let them to understand, that whensoever they attempted any base-conceited and dishonorable practise to their soveraigne Queen, their Mistresse, that it should be revenged to the uttermost, &c.

In this meane space, while the Lords generall continued at Cadiz, there came to them certaine poore wretched Turks, to the number of eight and thirty, that had bin a long time gally-slaves, and either at the very time of the fight by Sea, or else immediately thereupon, taking the opportunity, did then make their escape, and did swim to land; yeelding themselves to the mercy of their most honorable Lordships. It pleased them with all speede to apparell them, and to furnish them with mony, and all other necessaries, and to bestow on them a Barke, and a Pilot, to see them freely and safely conveied into Barbary.

The eight and twenty day being Monday, the Lord Admirall came aboord the Arke againe, minding there to remaine for a space, as indeede he did, and upon the advice of his Phisitian, to deale something in phisicke, for that his Lordship found his body something out of frame. At that time it pleased his Lordship to write certaine letters to the Duke of Medina Sidonia, for the deliverance of English Captives, who were remaining in the Gallies. For by this time, it was reported, that the said Duke was come downe in person with some power, and that he was either at Port Saint Mary, or else at Rotta, or thereabout. His Lordship did indite the Letters himselfe, but his pleasure was,

they should be turned into Latine by another: and so to be sent (as indeede they were) in the Latine tongue unto the Duke.

Cadiz fired.

The next day after, being the fourth of July, the Lords generall caused the towne of Cadiz to be set on fire, and rased and defaced so much as they could; the faire Cathedrall Church, and the Religious houses onely being spared, and left unblemished. And with the Towne all such provision, for shipping, and other things, as were serviceable for the Realmes use, and yet were not either so convenient for us to be carried away, as else such as we stood no whit at all in neede of, were likewise at the same instant consumed with fire. And presently thereupon, their Lordships, with as convenient speede as they could, and the whole army in such order and leisure, as they thought best, came aboord. [IV. x. 1934.]

Effect of the L. Admirall his letters.

The next day being the fift of July, the Lords generall with all the army being under saile, and now making for England, and but as yet passing the very mouth of the Bay of Cadiz, a Galley ful of English prisoners, with a flag of truce, met us from Rotta, sent by the Duke of Medina Sidonia, and sent as it should seeme, one day later then his promise: but yet their flag being either not big enough, or not well placed in the Galley, or not well discerned of our men, or by what other mischance I know not; but thus it was: by one of our smallest ships that sailed formost, as soone as the said Galley came within Gunshot, there was a great Peece discharged upon her, and at that instant there was one man slaine outright, and two other grievously hurt. The errour being espied and perceived, our ship gave over immediately from any further shooting. As soone as the Galley came neere us, my Lord Admirall caused a gracious salutation to be sounded with his trumpets, and willed the Captaines forthwith to come aboord his ship: which they did, and then he feasted them with a Banket, as the time and place might serve. And then by them understanding of that unfortunate mischance

that had hapned by the shot of the said ship, he was very sorry for the same, and yet such was the mercifull providence of almighty God, that even in this mischance also, he did hold his holy hand over the English; and all the harme that was done did light only upon the poore Turke, and the Spaniard himselfe. When this Lord had well banqueted them, he presently called for his Barge, and did accompany the said Galley to the Lord Generall the Earle of Essex, who then did ride with his ship a good distance off: and there they being in like manner most honorably received, and intertained, the Spanish Gentlemen delivered up their prisoners the English captives, of whom some had bin there six yeeres, some eight or ten; yea, and some two and twenty yeeres, and upward, and some of them but lately taken in Sir Francis Drakes last voyage to the Indies. The number of the prisoners delivered were but nine and thirty, and no moe, and were brought in, and delivered by Don Antonio de Carolla and his brother, and by Don Pedro de Cordua, and certaine others.

If any man presume here so farre, as to inquire how it chanced, that the Lord Generall rested so long at Cadiz, and went no further; and why Port Saint Mary, being so faire a Towne, and so neere to them, was forborne? and why Sheres alias Xeres? And why Rotta, and the like? And why this or that was done? And why that, or this left undone? I will not answere him with our common English proverbe, as I might, which is: That one foole may aske moe questions in one houre, then ten discreete men can well answere in five dayes. But that grave ancient writer, Cornelius Tacitus, hath a wise, briefe, pithy, saying, and it is this; Nemo tentavit inquirere in columnas Herculis, sanctiusque ac reverentius habitum est de factis Deorum credere, quàm scire.

Also upon my knowledge, the chiefest cause why Port Saint Mary, and the rest, were left untouched, was this: For that it was most certainely known, that they were

Townes not worth the saluting of such a royall company, in which there was no manner of wealth in the world left, more then bare houses of stone, and standing wals, and might well have served rather as a stale, perchance, to have entrapped, then as a meanes to have enriched.

And thus much for our journey to Cadiz: for the accidents that hapned by the way, for the winning, spoiling, and burning of the said Towne, for the overthrow of the Spanish Fleete there, and for all other by-matters that hapned, as appendances to the same, both in the time of our abode there, as also at the very last houre of our comming from thence. As for our returne home, and our entrance into a part of Portugall by the way, with the taking, spoiling, and burning of the Towne of Faraon there, and marching into the Spanish confines thereabouts, &c. I minde to leave it to some other, whose chance was to be present at the action, as my selfe was not, and shall be of more sufficient ability to performe it. *Faraon burnt.*

Meteranus writeth, that the taking of Cadiz had so terrified the neighbour townes, that the inhabitants fled out of them; and Saint Lucar had beene also very easily taken, if a few ships had assaulted it; and that eighteene Spanish ships comming from the Indies ignorant of what had hapned, were English at unawares, being very wealthy.

[IV. x. 1935.]

Chap. XIIII.

The Voyage to the Iles of Azores, under the conduct of the Right Honorable Robert Earle of Essex, 1597.

§. I.

The Relation thereof by the said Earle, and other Commissioners.

The Generall, having by her Majesties gracious favour the charge of her Fleete and Armie, set out of Plimmouth in June 1597. did both promise my selfe and give hope to her Majestie, that I should be able to defeate the King of Spaines Fleete, commanded by the Adelantado, if I met them at Sea, or destroy it in the harbour of Feroll, if I found them there; as also to master and take all Fleetes of treasure, or of the East or West Indian Fleete, that I should finde upon the Sea in their way to Spaine: and lastly, that I should take in the Iland of Terçea, which I held an action of equall importance to the other.

With this confidence I went out, and to these ends: but none of these three being performed, it may be doubted, whether we have not through weakenesse or negligence failed of successe. For which we make answere, that if our whole carriage be examined, from the first houre to the last, it shall appeare that we have striven to attaine to every one of these with as much obstinate constancie, as any men in the world could doe, and that onely the powerfull hand of God, did binde our hands, and frustrate all our endevours.

Crossed with windes and stormes.

The first for the enterprise of Ferel, we went out of Plimmouth the third of June, and stiered directly for that port, and when most extreame stormes and

contrary windes met with us, we beate it up till all our Fleete was scattered, and many of our ships in desperate case. And because I the Generall thought my too soone giving over would not onely deprive the Fleete of our principall ship, but absolutly defeate the journey; I forced my company first to abide the continuall increasing of a most dangerous leake, which I made light of, because I saw that with labour of men I could free the ship as fast as the leake did grow. Secondly, I made them endure the craking of both my maine and fore mast, the one in two places, the other in three; so as we still looked when they should be carried by the boord; which was not enough to make me beare up, because I knew whensoever I should loose them both, I could with jurie masts, by Gods favour, carry the ship home. And I continued so long, that my ships Okam came all out, her seames opened, her deckes and upper workes gave way, her very timbers and maine beames with her labouring did teare like lathes; so as we looked hourely when the Orlope would fall, and the Ordnance sinke downe to the keele: then did those few, whom before I had wonne to stand with mee, all protest against me, that if I did not within a minute of an houre beare up the helme, I did wilfully cast away the ship and whole company.

Danger of the Admirall ship.

Then onely I suffred my selfe to be overcome: and when I came to Plimmouth, halfe her Majesties ships, and more then halfe the principall officers by sea and by land were put in before mee for the extremitie their ships were in. And when we were all of us gathered together againe at Plimmouth, and had repaired all the ships but mine owne, which was sent home to Chatham to be new builded, then were we kept in by continuall storme and contrary windes, till our victuals (which were at first but for three moneths) were in a manner all spent, and the sicknesse in the Flie boates, that carried the land armie, growne so

They put in to Plimmouth.

Sicknesse.

Order to discharge land forces.

great, that I had order from her Majestie to discharge the land forces, all but the thousand old Souldiers, which were drawne out of the Low Countries. By which meanes, though we were disabled to land at Ferol, to beate the land Armie there, and take in the forces, which was the certaine way to command the Adelantados Fleete; yet I the Generall offered her Majestie to send in certaine ships of fire, and to second them with the Saint Matthew and Saint Andrew, and some great flye-boates, and Merchants ships, with which I would destroy the most of the enemies principall shipping, and leave all the Queens own English built ships at the mouth of the harbour to assure our retreate. By this meanes I should hazard to loose but two great Cartes, which before I had won, and for the adventuring of those defeate the enemies whole Navie. Which counsell being allowed, though with restraint of mine owne going in with those two ships, and an absolute barre to hazard any other, we went out the second time to put this project in execution.

Their setting forth the second time.

But againe ere we could recover the Spanish coast, the Saint Matthew, by loosing her foremast, was put backe into England, and the Saint Andrew had lost company, till at one instant within sight of the shoare of the Groine, Sir Walter Raleigh the Vice-admirall brake his maine yard, which forced him to beare along to the Westward before the winde; and I in this second ship had such a desperate leake sprang, as when we pumped and boled with buckets as much as we could for our owne lives, it grew still upon us: and when we sought by ramming downe peeces of Beefe, and holding linnen cloath wrong together, to stop the comming in of the water, it came in notwithstanding so strongly, as it bare downe all, and beate away every man that stood to stop it: Then was I faine to lye by the lee, and make my company worke upon it all night, my master Carpenter, the onely skilful man I had, dying at that very instant.

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Leake remedies.

And when by the great mercy of God we had stopped it, the winde being easterly the Fleete was so farre shot a head, as I could not recover the most of them till I came to the Cape Finisterre, where holding a Counsell, and missing Sir Walter Raleigh (who being off at Sea, had no plying sailes to get up) missing him, I say, with thirty sailes that in the night followed his light, and hearing that the Saint Matthew, which was our principall ship for the execution of our intended enterprise, was returned, and being barred to hazard any other in her place, it was by the whole Counsell of warre concluded, that the enterprise of Ferol was overthrowne, both because, though the winde had served, we wanted the ships appointed for that service, and if wee had had the ships, we wanted winde to get into the harbour of Ferol: for the winde blew strongly at East, which would have bin fully in our teeth as we had plied in. And now wee onely could thinke of the intercepting of the Indian Fleete, and defeating of the Adelantado: if he had put to Sea. For to take in Terçera, our land army being discharged, we had no meanes: whereupon wee bare for the height of the Rocke; hoping there (because it was our second Rende-vous after Ferol) to meete with Sir Walter Raleigh. Into which height when I came, a message was delivered mee from Sir Walter Raleigh, by one Captaine Skobbels, that the Adelantado was gone out of Ferol with his Fleete to Terçera, to waft home the West Indian Fleete of treasure, and that hee would attend mine answere off of the Burlingas; which message of Sir Walters was grounded upon the report of the Captaine of a ship of Hampton, which did confidently deliver it.

Cape Finisterre.

Enterprise of Feroll overthrowne.

The Rocke.

I the Generall there calling a Counsell, tooke a resolution, both because wee hoped to meete the Adelantado there, and because all our best experimented Seamen did assure us that it was the likeliest course to meete with the Indian Fleete, to goe for the Ilands

of the Azores. And I sent our Pinnaces both to the *South Cape.* Burlinges, and toward the South Cape (which was our third Rende-vous, by our first appointment) to cause Sir Walter Raleigh and all others of our Fleete to *Tercera.* follow. And being with the Iland of Terçera, I looked into the roade of Brasil, and saw there was no Fleete: whereupon we bare alongst betwixt Saint George and Graciosa for the Island of Flores, at which we might *Victuals sent after them.* both water and take in victuals, which in Merchants ships her Majestie had sent after us: and where, if the Indian Fleete did come this yeere, they were likest to fall. But when we had spent at Flores some ten dayes, in which time Sir Walter Raleigh and his *False advise of a smal Pinnace comming from the Indies.* company came unto us, by a small Pinnace come from the Indies, I the Generall was told, that it was doubtfull whether the Indian Fleete came from thence or not, and if they did, they would change their usuall course, and come in some height more to the Southward, till they were past these Ilands, where usually they are attended.

Which newes made us resolve in Counsell to goe for Fayal, and so for Saint Michael, and to have some nimble ships to lye off and on at Sea, both to the Southward and to the Northward. In our passage by saile, Graçiosa and Pico, we tooke such commodities and refreshings as those Ilands afforded: and in passing from them toward Saint Michael, wee were told that a great ship was discovered off of Graciosa: whereupon I the General gave order to divide and to direct the Fleete into three places: the one to stirre away East North-east, and to goe along the Northside of Terçera: the other East South-east, and to goe by the South-side of the said Iland, and both to meete in the roade of Brasil: so as if the Carackes, or West Indian Fleete should strive to recover Terçera, they should be cut off: And the third part of the Fleete should ply to the Westward, which way it was said that the great ship stood, and so to cut it off, if it sought for the

roade of Fayal: which if she were kept from, Terçera was her onely place she could put into: and one of these three wayes she must needes stand; for the winde being at North North-west, shee could not goe but one of these three courses.

But as I had given this direction, there came to me a small Barke of Lime, whose Captaine did confidently assure me, that he was the man that did follow the chase, and fetched it up, finding it but a small ship of our owne Fleete: which made us resolve to continue our former intended course for Saint Michael. But in this meane time, I the Generall hailing the Captaine of a Pinnace, and willing him to call to the ships of my squadron to follow my light, and those of the Viceadmirals squadron to follow his light to the Westward (which direction I did presently after counter-mand) hee misheard, and willed some ships that were next, to stand about to the Westward: which direction, together with his not hearing of me that which was spoken to countermand it, made foure of her Majesties ships, the Garland, the Marie-rose, the Dread-naught and the Rainebowe, to stand off to the West all that night: of which, Sir William Mounson in the Rainebowe fell in the night with the West Indian Fleete; and it being calme, went off in his Boate to make and haile them: which hee did, and made himselfe knowne unto them: and straight rowing to his ship, hee shot off his Ordnance all night, and carried a light in his maine top: whereupon the other three of her Majesties ships stood off with him, but could not fetch up the Spaniards till they were gotten into Tercera Road; before which, after they had strived in vaine to get into them, they plied till my comming, which was three dayes after: for I was hard aboord the Westermost part of Saint Michaell before I heard these newes.

Note, Mistaking.

[IV. x. 1937.]

The Indian Fleet recover the Rode of Tercera.

And then standing about, I the Generall being on head of the Fleet, met in my way with a great Ship of the Governour of Havana, and a Frigate of the Spanish

Three Spanish Ships taken.

King, manned with the said Kings Souldiers, and another Frigate of a particular man: which three I fetched out, tooke, and manned for the safe bringing home of the Ship and goods, and fell the next night being Saturday, the (of with Tercera; where finding the wind strong at Northwest, we plyed with as much saile as ever we could bear to get up to the road of Brasil all that night. Al Sunday, and Sunday night, and till Munday morning wee could not weather the point of Brasil: which when wee had done, while I the Generall gathered such of the Fleet as were neere, I sent in a Pinnace of my Lord of Cumberland, and foure or five of very sufficient Captaines and Masters; to see whether it were possible for us to get up where the Ships rode: and they brought me backe word, it was impossible. With which I being not satisfied plied in with mine owne Ship, keeping aboord with mee two or three of the principall Officers, that wee might judge by the eye, and dispute upon the place; and when wee were in, wee saw the bottome of the Bay (into which they were towed and warped) lay right in the eye of the wind: so as to lead it in with a sayle it was impossible, and to turne it up would aske an whole day, if wee had scope, but both wee must upon either boord come within a quoytes cast off their Forts, and yet our Ships would wend in so narrow a place, wee should have beene on shoare. Which manifest discoverie, and not the idle Shot of all the Forts and Ships, though they were verie liberall, made mee stand off againe.

Want of provisions.

And as it was impossible to doe any thing for the present, so when I the Generall called all the Captaines of her Majesties Ships together, and enquired the estate of their charge, I found that some by the naughtinesse of their Caske and leakage of Beere, had not above two dayes, and some not one dayes drinke aboord; and that which most of us all had did so stinke, as our men dyed and fell sicke continually, and all men protested, that if wee stayed to attend change of windes,

and did not instantly seeke a watering place, both men and Ships were absolutely lost. Besides we saw the Galions had beene unladen, by their shewing their white bellies so much above water, and that the Merchants Ships lay all dry on shoare; so as we had abidden the extreamest hazard of her Majesties troupes and Ships, for the burning of a few dry unladen Vessells.

Thus were we driven to beare the second time with Saint Michael (our chiefe end being to water, but withall to sacke the Iland if we could land neere the principall Towne) where wee came to an anchor before Punta Delgada the chiefe Towne; and forthwith went in a little nimble Boat to discover the landing places, which we found to be exceeding dangerous. For as about all those Ilands of the Acores a Westerly wind bringeth in the hollow mother Sea, so the wind then being West Southerly blew trade, and made both a great Sea gate or wash upon the shoare, and a dangerous rode. So as besides the apparant likelihood, that our men had been all lost by the overturning of our Boats upon our heads: the losse of our Boates, which could not have beene in that place avoided, had kept us from watering, and so had beene the manifest destruction of the whole Fleet. Whereupon, I the Generall, leaving commandement of the great Ships with Sir Walter Raleigh (because the Lord Thomas Howard desired to land with mee) accompanied with his Lords Ship, and all the other principall Officers and persons of qualitie in the Army, I put my selfe in the smal Ships, and towed the boats at our Sterns to seeke another smal Bay on the other side of the Point to the Eastward, called Punta de Galera or Galy Point, where there was a Land Fange, and consequently a smoother landing.

Punta delgada in S. Michael.

Punta de la Galera.

But we putting off in this manner at eleven of the clocke at night, I the Generall in a Pinnace of Sir Walter Raleigh, called the Guiana, wherein all the Officers of the Land Army did accompany me, & the

Adventurers of quality that came out of my Ship in another Pinnace with Captain Arthur Champernon came to an anchor in this Bay; but so dangerously as wee were put from our anchor, and had like to have beene cast away: all the rest of the Fleet being put to leeward very farre. The next morning at the breake of the day, being driven as low as Villa Franca, and there finding a good landing place, wee set our troups on shoare; where wee found (besides many other commodities with which we refreshed our troupes) a better watering place, and a safer rode then any other that was about that Iland. Which, together with the impossibilitie of getting our small Ships and Boats to ply backe againe five leagues against the wind, and to meet us that should have marched by land, and they seeing of many of the Queens principal ships driven from their anchors about, and come to Villa Franca: These accidents, I say, made us to resolve to draw all the Fleet to one place, and there to water with all possible diligence.

They land near Villa Franca.

And wee being there saw it was so dangerous for our Ships to ride, the wind growing more Southerly, as on Sunday the fifteenth of October, wee re-imbarked all our men; the Masters of the Ships having before protested, that if they were put from their anchors, as hourely they looked to bee, that the Fleet and Land Forces were in danger to be severed for this whole Winter: So as to have hazarded her Majesties honour, and so many gallant men, for that which was never any of our ends, had beene as unwise as it was unsafe; and if the counsell of retyring were good, the manner of it was without taxation: for wee imbarked first of all our idle persons, secondly our adventerours, and the old Companies one after another; and when wee had but three hundred and fiftie men on shore, the enemy marching in sight of our Guards, we went out to meet him, and stood two houres readie to fight with the whole Forces of the Iland, till at last they retired out of sight. Thus left wee that Iland, the

October the fifteenth.

[IV. x. 1938.]

Their returne.

principall Commanders by Land and Sea staying to bring off the last man. In this meane time, while the Land Forces were at Villa Franca, and the Fleet at Punta Delgada, there came into that Road a Carake and a small Brasil man. The Carack presently ran her selfe on the Rocks; and after her men had saved themselves, the last set her on fire with all the goods in her, to avoid her being taken. Which Sir Walter Raleigh and those with him could not possibly avoid. The Brasil man was taken, and the Ship being found leakie, the goods were taken out and put into English Ships.

A Carack ran her selfe on the Rocks.

A Ship of Brasil taken.

And now wee have given account of all our whole carriage untill we bare for England. If our comming home scattering be objected, wee must plead the violence of stormes, against which no fore directions, nor present industry can prevaile. Wee must conclude with this, That as wee would have acknowledged that wee had done but our duties, if we had defeated the Adelantado, interpreted the Feet of Treasure, and conquered the Ilands of the Açores: So wee having failed of nothing that God gave us meanes to doe; wee hoped her Majestie will thinke our painfull dayes, carefull nights, evill diet, and many hazards deserve not now to be measured by the event: the like honourable and just construction wee promise our selves at the hands of all my Lords. As for others, that have set warme at home and descant upon us, wee know they lacked strength to performe more, and beleeve they lacke courage to adventure so much.

Signed ESSEX.
Thomas Howard. Ch:* Mountjoy.
Walter Raleigh. Fran: Vere.
Antony Sherley. Christ: Blunt.

*Charles.

§. II.

A larger Relation of the said Iland Voyage, written by Sir Arthur Gorges Knight, collected in the Queenes Ship called the Wast Spite, wherein he was then Captaine; with Marine and Martiall Discourses added according to the Occurrences.

THese Iles of the Asores* are situate in the Atlantike or Westerne Ocean, and doe stand betweene 37. and 40. degrees, and distant from England 400. leagues. They are in number nine, namely Saint Maries, Saint Michaels, The Tercera, Gratiosa, S. Georges, Pykes Fayall, Flores, and Cuerno.

This name of Asores was given unto these Ilands by the Portugues, of a kind of Hawkes called, by them Asores (which wee name Goshawkes, and the Latines Accipitres) whereof there did breed great store in those Iles: But Ortellius sets downe this name to bee so given of the French word Essorer, which signifieth, to dry or wither, but yeeldeth no reason withall for that Etimology. The Netherlanders doe

*Of these Ilands see before Linschotens observations: to which I have added this Authors description, as containing somwhat therin omitted. This booke was written A. 1607. and dedicated to that great hope of Great Britaine, Prince Henry; the Epistle to him and the Preface I have omitted in regard of our long volume. I have not added a word of mine, but the Title and Marginall Notes; nor defalked any of the Authors (after my wont in others, not to make their writings mine, but thine, the tediousnesse in so often repetitions by often relators, and the superfluities being such as would deterre the Reader:) The Discourses I have usually put in another letter, to distinguish them from the History; the one the Eyes observations, the other the Minds, and both worthy both thine eyes and minds best observation. Hee added also Notes touching the Navie Royall, which are worthy the noting, but perhaps not to be permitted to every vulgar and notelesse eye. Sometimes veritas odium parit; Paines may cause paines, and busie labour may reap the reward of a busiebody. I am loth to buy repentance.

call them the Flemish Ilands, challenging that they were first discovered by the Merchans of Bridges, who found them meerely un-inhabited, abounding with Woods and Cedar Trees, whether they sent Colonies to people and manure them. And afterwards in processe of time they yeelded themselves Subjects to the Portugues, who since did inhabite and governe there, so as now with them they are fallen under the power of the Spanish usurpation.

Amongst these Ilands the Tercera is the chiefe, but is so called by the Spaniards, because it lieth the third Iland distant from the Coast of Spaine. It is plentifull of Fruit and Corne, and hath some Vines growing in it. The Inhabitants doe make great benefit and trade of Oade to dye Cloth, which growes there in great plentie: The chiefe Towne in that Iland is called Angra, and hath thereunto a very strong Fortresse, called Brazill, and under it a Roade for shipping to ride, but an Haven or safe Port for all weathers, there is not one amongst these nine Iland.

The Pike is so called of a sharpe Mountaine, rising steeple wise some three miles in height and six or seven miles in circuit at the foot; fashioned it is upward like an Hive, and the top therof most commonly to be discerned within and above the clouds. This Mountaine hath in it (by report) many great hollow Caves and [IV. x. deepe Vaults, and it is credibly reported, that often- 1939.] times it breathes out flames and sparkes of fire, as doth the Mountaine Ætna. Also at the bottome of this Mountain, towards the East, there is a great Spring of Fresh-water, which is seen many times to issue out flakes and stones of fire with great violence, and of the number and bignesse of the stones that are throwne out by the force and source of this Spring, and what huge workes they make of the multitudes of them, they confidently doe tell strange wonders, which I will neither affirme nor deny, but leave indifferent to credit as men list.

Fayall. Fayall is so called of Faya, which in the Portugues signifieth a Beech Tree, wherewith that Iland is said to abound. But yet I saw there more store of Juniper and Cedar, then of any other Wood or Timber. For Aire and Soyle, it is as pleasant and fruitfull, as any of the other Ilands, and in it are some five Townes with many pretie Villages: and in this Iland there are yet remaining certaine families of the Flemish race. Gratiosa is so called of the exceeding fruitfulnesse of the Soyle and pleasant temper of the Ayre. Flores, of the abundance of Flowers that grow in it. Cuervo, of the multitude of Ravens and Crowes breeding therein. And that Iland doth also breed Horses. Saint Maries, Saint Georges, and Saint Michaels, were so called of those Saints names, upon whose dayes they were first discovered; for such is the custome of many Navigators, and especially of the Spaniards and Portugues, so to call those Landes that they first make by the Saints day and name wherein they are discovered. And these three Ilands for temper and fruitfulnesse are suteable with the others: But Saint Michael is the greatest of them all, Tercera the strongest, and Saint Maries the neerest to the Coast of Spaine.

Gratiosa.

Flores.

Cuervo.

S. Maries, &c.

But now as wee come neerer to our intended purpose, for the better understanding thereof, I thinke it very necessary and pertinent somewhat to speake of the chiefe Commanders, as well by Sea as by Land, and also of the number of our Ships and Souldiers, together with the project and designe of that journey then undertaken for the service of her late Majestie, and the Honour of our Nation.

Commanders names, and chiefe officers. It is therefore to be understood, that Robert Devereux, late Earle of Essex, Master of the Horse and Ordnance, and Knight of the Garter: First commanded in chiefe, as well Admirall of the Navie by Sea, as Generall of the Armie by Land. His Vice-Admirall was the Lord Thomas Howard Knight of the same Order, and second Sonne to the last Thomas Duke of Norfolke, a Noble-

A.D. 1597.

man much honoured and beloved, and of great experience in Sea service. His Reare-Admirall was Sir Walter Raleigh Knight, Captaine of Her Majesties Guard, Lord Warden of the Stanneries, and Lieftenant of Cornwall. For the Land service, his Leiftenant Generall was Sir Charles Blunt, Lord Mountjoy, Knight of the Garter, Governour of Portsmouth, and a man in high favour with her late Majestie. His Marshall of the Field was Sir Frauncis Vere Knight, a great Souldier, and Coronell Generall of the English Forces in the Low-Countries. The Master of the Ordnance, Sir George Carew Knight, Leiftenant of the Ordnance of the Kingdome of England. His Sergeant Major, Sir Ferdinando Gorges Knight, Governour of the Forts of Plimouth. The Coronell Generall of the Foot Sir Christopher Blunt Knight: The Treasurer of the Armie Sir Hugh Bisston Knight, one of her Majesties Receivers Generall in the Principalities of Walles, with all other Officers designed to places requisite that were needful by Land or Sea, now too long to rehearse. And yet of all the Noblemen I will as neere as I can record their names particularly; but crave pardon if I faile in the precedencie of their places.

Noblemen imployed in this service.

The Earles of Essex, Rutland, and Southampton, the Lord Howard, the Lord Audley, the Lord Gray, the Lord Mountjoy, the Lord Rich, and the Lord Cromwell. But the particular names of all the Land Captains that had charge I could never come to the knowledge of, much lesse can I marshall them orderly in this discourse. And therefore I will passe to the number of the Ships in generall, and therein name some particulars of the chiefe and principall Vessells of the Royall Navie, with their Captaines.

The Navie consisting of three Squadrons and 120. saile.

The whole Navie (which was divided into three Squadrons, viz. The Admirall his Squadron; The Vice-Admirall his Squadron, and the Reare-Admirall his Squadron) consisted of 120. sayle, or thereabout; whereof sixtie were good men of Warre and gallant Ships, the

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The Queenes ships and their Captaines.

rest Victuallers, and Ships of Transportation. Of her Majesties owne Ships the number was eighteene or nineteene, and these were their names. The Merhoneur Admirall, whereof Sir Robert Mansfield was Captaine: The Due Repulse Vice-Admirall, whereof Master Middleton was Captaine: The Wast Spite Reare-Admirall, whereof my selfe was Captaine: The Garland the Earle of Southampton commanded: The Defiance wherein the Lord Mountjoy was shipped, had for Captaine Sir Amias Preston: The Saint Mathew to Sir George Carew, Master of the Ordnance: The Mary Rose to Sir Francis Vere Marshall, whose Captaine was M. John Winter: The Dread-nought Sir William Brooke was Captaine of: The Nonparellia Sir Richard Luson was Captaine of: The Bonoventure Sir William Harvey was Captaine of: The Antilope Sir Thomas Vavisor was Captain of: The Rainbow Sir William Mounson was Captaine of: The Swiftsure Sir Gilly Mericke was Captain of: The Golden Lion was sent after for a supply. The Hope, whereof was Captain The Foresight, whereof Sir Carew Reignall was Captaine: The Saint Andrew, whereof Master Marcellus Throckmorton was Captain: The Tramontana, whereof young Master Fenner was Captain: The Moone, whereof Sir Edward Michelboorne was Captaine. Besides that there were some other of her Majesties small Pinnaces that attended the Fleet.

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The rest of the Fleet.

The residue of the Fleet aforenamed consisted of the best shipping of London, and other Port-Townes of the Kingdome, with sundry stout Vessells belonging to some Lords and Gentlemen that were Adventurers in this Voyage. There were also added to this Navie tenne sayle of good men of Warre, sent from the States of the Low-Countries to attend her Majesties Fleet in this service, under the conduct of one Mounsier de Duneincorde, well manned and furnished.

Ten Hollanders.

Land-Army.

The Land Army (besides Saylers that might be afforded and spared upon occasion of landing) consisted

of six thousand able men well appointed, with ten Peeces of Artillery for the Field and Battery, with all necessary Utensils fit for them. The proportion of victuals was for four months at large allowance, & double apparell both for Souldiers and Mariners. In this Armie there went Knights, Captaines, and Gentlemen, voluntaries five hundred at the least; as gallant parsonages, and as bravely furnished, as ever the eye of men did behold. The list of whose names I did seriously inquire after, thereby to doe them right, but could by no meanes compasse it.

Five hundred Voluntaries gallantly furnished.

The end and purpose of this great Preperation was, to the taking in of most of those Ilands, and especially of the winning of the Tercera it selfe, the which was resolved to have beene attempted by us, with the other Ilands and Holds of importance, and in some of them to have placed strong Garrisons, if it had pleased God to have prospered the journey with happy successe: But in the very beginning with long contrary winds, and extremitie of foule weather, the maine plot and ground of this enterprise was hindred and maimed, as hereafter more at large shall be related in his due place. But this intended journey for the surprising and holding of the Tercera alone, if it had taken effect (without any further respect to the other Ilands, then onely to have sacked them and rased those Fortresses they have) had beene a service of great consequence for us, and as prejudiciall to the King of Spaine, as any action that was ever undertaken against him, since the revolt of the Low-Countries; The which, to set downe in particular, would require more ample discourse, then either my leasure, or memory can suddenly afford. But what great use and benefit both the Portugues did, and the Spaniards doe make of these Ilands is in daily experience. And as for that bare Allegation, how difficult and inconvenient it would bee for us to hold a peece so farre off: men of Warre in their true judgements would easily answere. For as well it might be demanded, how the

The designe.

Intent for Tercera.

Forts are held in the East Indies by the poore Portugues against mightie Nations, and yet so farre remote from Christendome: And how Rhodes and Cyprus were heretofore long kept in despite of the Turke in his very bosome. And how the Spaniards of late have kept certaine places in Britaine, and Amyens, and Callice in Picardie, maugre the force of France, and never quitted them but by composition: And God knowes how long Don John D'Laguita would have kept Kinsale and Beare Castle, if these had bin places halfe so terrible, as those of the Tercera; or but the fourth part so remote from us, as the Tercera is from Spaine. Undoubtedly their industry and patience is far beyond ours, both in getting and holding matters of more difficultie. But vaine it is to set a price of the Beares skin before hee be slaine; although I am verily perswaded, that the contrary winds onely lost us both that, and all the King of Spaine his treasure that came that yeere to the Tercera. For the journey was carried with as great secrecie, expedition, and Royall preparation, as ever was any these many yeeres, and they on the contrary as slenderly provided, and little doubting any such attempt. When all things were thus ordered, and wee furnished of our necessaries after some few daies abode in Sandwich for the meeting, mustering, and imbarking of our Land Army, about the five and twentieth of June, in the yeere 1597, we set saile from the Downes, and within three *Portland.* dayes with skant winds recovered Portland Rhode, where we ancored and staied some six or seven dayes, taking in men and victualls at Waymouth, and thence we *Plimouth.* made for Plimouth, where wee were to take in our fresh water, much of our provisions, and most of our Mariners; besides that this place was appointed the very randevous for the knitting up and dispatch of this Voyage: whether in a day and a nights sayle wee came, but with very extreme foule weather. Insomuch that even in the entrance of the very Harbour, many of our Ships falling foule one of another were sorely

distressed. The Lord Mountjoy his Ship the Defiance, had her Beake head stricken cleane off; and the Saint Mathew (being a Spanish Ship of great charge, very leeward and drawing much water) had like in the tempest to have runne her selfe upon the Rocks, had not her Captaine Sir George Carew Master of the Ordnance, beene very resolute and carefull in that extremitie, when a great part of his Souldiers and Saylers would have abandoned her, and betaken themselves to their Ship-boats, to shun the iminent perill that threatned them: which he staied to the preservation of the Ship and the company. Moreover a Flee-boat of our Traine, who had in her fortie Last of Powder was likewise bulged, and all the store had beene utterly lost, had not the Master of the Ordnance with like care and diligence bestirred himselfe to save all that he might, who with the aid of many Ship-boats, as the Flee-boat was sinking, saved the greatest part of her lading. Yet notwithstanding seventeen Lasts of Powder was utterly spoiled with the Salt-water, as I heard the Master of the Ordnance himselfe affirme.

Thus with great difficultie wee arrived at Plimouth, where within six or seven daies our whole Army and Navie met, and withall the shipping of the Low-Countries came to us. And soone after having watered and taken in all our provisions and Mariners, and mustered our men, we imbarked our Army, and set sayle about the ninth of July, and for two dayes space were accompanied with a faire leading North-easterly wind. In which time we received a ship-board all our directions throughout the Navie, with such orders and instructions as are usually set downe by an Admirall, and a Counsell of Warre, together with the places of meeting from time to time upon any occasions of separations by stormes, by fight, by giving chase, or any other accidents. This order of delivering directions when a Fleet is a Sea-boord, and not before, is an use grounded

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Set saile.

Instructions for the voyage and instructions touching instructions.

upon many good reasons: as to avoid the revealing of secret plots, and the prevention of sudden execution. As also to shun the discouraging of divers that doe often expose themselves and their adventures to Sea actions, either for love to the Commanders, or out of hope of Purchase, or for many other respects, which perhaps they would not doe if they knew indeed either the danger, or the true ends of some preparations. And this secret manner of proceeding hath bin often used by Philip the late king of Spain, in divers great expeditions, who hath beene so precise and severe therein, as that oftentimes the Admiralls of his Fleet themselves have not knowne their instructions, nor beene suffered to open them, untill they have beene thirtie or fortie leagues on their way. Wee now being in this faire course, some sixtie leagues onwards our journey with our whole Fleet together, there suddenly arose a fierce and tempestuous storme full in our teeths, continuing for foure dayes with so great violence, as that now every one was inforced rather to looke to his owne safetie, and with a low saile to serve the Seas, then to beat it up against the stormy winds to keepe together, or to follow the directions for the places of meeting. And here some began to taste the inconvenience and perill of high Cargued Ships drawing little water, and overcharged with mightie Ordnance in a furious high wrought Sea: And now also others found and felt the mischiefe of weake built Vessells, and of rotten Tackle. For this extreamitie of weather was so great, as that wee were all one after another forced backe againe, some into Plimouth, and divers into other Harbours on that Coast, so extreamely shaken and beaten, as that the Admirall was in danger to have foundred in the Sea, having many leaks broken out upon him, and his mid-ship beame shivered in sunder. And yet (as wee understood after) some three or foure of the formost of our Fleet (whereof the Earle of Southampton in the Garland was said to be one) did

Storme.

Perill of high cargued & of weake ships.

A.D. 1597.

recover sight of the North-Cape, but yet forced to returne againe to Plimouth. And many of our Gentlemen and Knights, with this boysterous and bitter entertainment on the Seas, returned extreame weake and lay dangerously sicke long after: Insomuch that some of them dyed thereof at Plimouth, and were there honourably buried by the Generall. Some also were so much weakened and distempered, as that they were not able to recover strength to put to the Seas againe, as Sir Ferdinando Gorges our Sergeant Major, in whose place our Generall did appoint Sir Anthony Sherly; and Sir Carew Reignalls Captaine of the Foresight, so severely weakned with Seas sicknesse, as that his charge was delivered over to Sir Alexander Ratcliffe, a very forward and gallant young Gentleman, who (not long after) was slaine in the Warres of Ireland, with Sir Conniers Clifford Governour of Connaugh. And amongst others in the beginning of this bitter storme, our Treasurer Sir Hugh Biston was also so extreamely afflicted with Sea sicknesse, and in so great hazard of life, as that out of the Wast spite (wherein he was shipped) he was imbarked into a Carvell of our traine to returne for England, seeing his weake body unable to undergoe the resolution of his mind. And I thinke this losing of our Treasurer in the beginning, was an ominous presage of the losse of the infinite Treasures, which afterward so unluckily past by and escaped us.

Returne to Plimouth.

Great sicknesse.

Sir A. Sherly placed in roome of Sir F. Gorges.

Sir Alexander Ratcliffe.

The Treasurer his ominous departure.

Wee being thus with contrary winds, and extreamitie of weather beaten backe into severall Havens, and yet at last meeting at Plimouth (except some few Ships of transportation, that were driven upon the Coasts of France, Wales, and Ireland, with some of our Bands of Souldiers) we fell to repairing of our Ships, and to amend those imperfections which the Seas and stormes had discovered. But withall were inforced to abate a great part of the first proportion of our Armie, as well through the defects of the Admirall his Ships, and others, as also for the waste and expence which wee had

made of our drinke and victuals by the leaking of the Caske, and by the abundance of Salt-water, which was taken in during the storme, to the wetting and spoyling of many of our provisions. Besides that, much of our beare aboard those Victuallers that followed our Fleet with divers other provisions, was very vile and unsavoury of it selfe, by the great abuse of the Victuallers and London Brewers, as well for the carelesse brewing, as for the unseasonable stinking Caske which they deliver, a fault much used among them, and too much tolerated, considering the infinite rate and gaines they make of selling Thames water, beyond all good order and proportion. But as God would, at that instant when wee had discharged our Ships of that unserviceable poisonous drinke, there came very happily into Plimouth for a supply, a tall prize laden with Spanish Canary Wines, which was distributed amongst the Fleet to make Beverage. And in this sort using all industry and diligence for the setting aflote of our storme-beaten Navie, wee so fitted our selves againe within eight or ten dayes, as that wee were readie for a new fortune. But yet this violent and dangerous tempest had so cooled and battered the courages of a great many of our young Gentlemen (who seeing that the boysterous winds and mercilesse Seas, had neither affinitie with London delicacie, nor Court bravery) as that discharging their high Plumes, and imbroydered Cassockes, they secretly retired themselves home, forgetting either to bid their friends farewell, or to take leave of their Generall. And here by the way, a little to digresse, I thinke it not amisse justly to reprehend and taxe our Nation, for their unproper and vaine manner of going to the Warres, and especially those that had never seene service. For bee hee poore or rich when hee first prepares to goe to serve, hee will take more care, and be at more cost to provide himselfe of a roysting Feather, and a clynckant Coat, then to bee furnished either of fit Armes, or of necessary clothing to keepe

Brewers faults.

A Prize.

Stormy Winds and Seas agree not with delicacy & bravery.

[IV. x. 1942.] *Advice for Gallants.*

out wet and cold: whereby they come both to the Sea and Field service, rather like Maskers than Souldiers, as men apter to bring spoyles for the Enemy, then to conquer or win honour from him. And yet at the last, the wanting of their needfull habiliments in times of extreamitie, doth make them truly to finde their owne errour and superfluous vanitie in those idle and fruitlesse toyes: whereof I could wish a reformation, as well for the bettering of our service, as also for abating such needlesse expences. Such were the garish troupes and gilded Armies of Darius, abounding in pompe and delicacy: whose millions of effeminate Persians were ever dispersed and defeated by handfulls of the poore and hardie Macedonians. So were the steele edged Souldiers of that renowned Hanniball, metamorphosed into Cowardise and Sloth, after they had once relished the pride and delicacies of Capua, for their conquests ever after declined. So was also that famous M. Anthonius overthrowne and vanquished, when he left the strict Martiall discipline of his owne victorious Countrey, and fashioned his Forces according to the bravery and luxury of Egypt, to observe the humour of Cleopatra, who had utterly corrupted and weakned the courage both of him and his legions, with vanities, excesse, and idlenesse. And such in our dayes were the glorious glistring French troupes led by the Duke of Joyeuse, being for the most part compounded of the gallant Courtiers and dancing Minions of Henry the Third French King of that name, but beaten and overthrowne at the Battell of Couttras, by the valiant King of Navarr, and an handfull of his poore Hugonotes (as they then termed them.) Farre otherwise was the wont and manner of those worthy Romans, that by their wisdome and valour made themselves famous, and Lords over the World, whose glorious examples wee doe more willingly read then follow. They going a warfare departed Rome in obedience and strictnesse of Martiall discipline, in sobrietie of diet and attire,

fitted with Armes, like men that knew that Iron and Steele were mastring mettalls over Gold and Silver, and having atchieved and performed their enterprises, returned then home in triumph, in glory, and in pride, shining in the spoyles and riches of their vanquished Enemies, and adorned with as much sumptuousnesse as they could get, braving therein their conquered Foes, and setting to the shew of the world the fruits of their Valour and Travailes. Whereas wee for the most part contrariwise going out bravely, and returning home againe beggarly, leave no other testimony nor records of our Enterprises and Victories, either to the living or *Note.* to posteritie, then the Merchants bookes wherin we are deep plunged, even to the morgage or sale of our Inheritance, to convert the true honor of Souldery into effeminate pompe and delicacy. But now to the matter. We having in this Fort repaired and supplied the defects of our weather beaten Navie, onely attended the favour of the winds; wherein it seemed the heavens *Still crossed.* were utter enemies to our designes. For during the space of an whole moneth together (after wee were againe readie) the weather stood flat opposite to our course, insomuch that wee were not able to worke our selves out of the Harbour. And in this consumption of Time we lost the best season of the yeere for our purpose, and also greatly decayed our victualls and provisions; besides the number of our Souldiers and Mariners that daily diminished. And about this time *Lord Rich departeth.* the Lord Rich finding himselfe (as many others did) altogether unable to indure the inconveniences of the Seas in a long and toilesome voyage, tooke his leave of our Generall, and gave over the journey. In this extreamitie of contrary windes and crosse fortunes (against which the policie and power of man could not prevaile) our Generall, with the advice of his counsell resolved upon some other course, and to fashion his enterprises according to opportunitie, and the proportion of the meanes that remained. And thereupon cashing

A.D. 1597.

the greatest part of his Land Armie, hee onely retained one thousand of the best Souldiers (as was thought) most of them being Companies brought out of the Low-Countries: And also at that time hee discharged divers of the smaller Ships, and many of the Victuallers, taking out of them such provisions and store as remained to supply that which was spent, and to lengthen out the time for those lesser numbers that were to be imployed. And whilest these things were thus altering and ordering, and committed to the care and charge of discreet Officers: Our Admirall himselfe, with his Reare-Admirall resolved to ride post to the Court, to receive further directions or approbation in that he intended for her Majestie, and the Lords of the Councell. Leaving the charge both of the Navie and Souldiers in his absence, with the Lord Thomas Howard his Vice-Admirall, and the Lord Mountjoy his Leiftenant Generall by Land whom hee authorised, together with the Counsell of Warre, to marshall those affaires as occasion required. Here by it may be easily conjectured what it is for men to undertake Sea-actions, that have not great meanes to follow the same, with provisions and allowance of superfluitie to meet with lets and misadventures, and not to depend on the bare ordinary provisions of a set proportion. For by this great crosse of ours, wee may well take knowledge how uncertaine and difficult it is to set out and prepare a Sea Army, except it bee on the purse and defraies of a Prince, able and willing to supply the expences and hinderances of such wast and accidents, as doe many times happen by want of windes when all things else are in readinesse, wherein oftentimes the overslipping, and not taking of six houres advantage of winde when it hath served, hath overthrowne a Voyage. And it hath to my knowledge so fallen out, that some Ships that have taken a present gale of a day, by the benefit thereof have performed their Voyage, and returning againe into the Harbour, finding others of their consorts bound

Land Army cashed.

Sea-actions require a Princes purse.

Small time great losse.

[IV. x. 1943.]

for the same place, and ready at the same time, still sticking fast at ancor; by leesing the same opportunitie.

In this absence of our Generall at the Court, there fell out such extreame stormy weather, as that it greatly troubled and puzled our Ships, both in Plimouth Road, and in the Cat Water, insomuch that many of their ancors came home, and a Ship of the Reare-Admiralls, of three hundred Tunnes, called the Roe-buck, drave a ground and bulged her selfe, and so became unserviceable for that journey, although much paines and care was taken of all hands, and specially by our Vice-Admirall himselfe in his owne person, to have preserved her.

Harmes by stormes.

During all this time of our abode in Plimouth, (which was some six or seven weekes) we neither found eyther want or dearth of any manner of victualls, either in the Towne, where our Mariners were daily resident, or in the Countrey, where the Land Army was quartered; nor yet that extreame manner of inhaunsing the prices of all things used in London, and in other places of the Realme, upon the extraordinary assembling of any such great troupes. And withall it is strange to see, how happily that poore corner of England, doth often receive and sustaine so many Armies and Fleets, as doe there many times meet, without any of those inconveniences or alterations, that upon the like occasion are found, in many other more rich and fruitfull parts of the Kingdome.

Good order for provisions at Plimouth.

Our Generall (as is aforesaid) having spent now sixe or seven dayes in that journey to the Court, returned with a resolution to continue the voyage to the Seas, and there (as intelligence fell out) to follow the best courses in spending the rest of the Summer, and the remainder of his victualls; all sorts being very sorry, that so great preparations should have utterly quailed without effecting, or attempting something of worth. Wee therefore now proposed to our selves, that by tarrying out till the last of October, (for the which time we were victualled after the Land Army was discharged)

wee might range the Coast of Spaine, and so doe service in some of the Kings shipping, or else lying in the height betweene the Rocke and the South Cape, wee might intercept some Indian Fleet or Carrackes, either outwards or homewards bound, or at the least wee might meete and fight with the Adelantado, who was then saide to bee preparing of a Fleet, and ready to put to the Seas. Besides there was a brute given out, that our Generall meant to attempt the Groyne or Ferrall, and there to distresse some of the Kings shipping that lay in the Harbour. But whatsoever pretences and speeches were given out for that matter; both our Generall, and the wisest of his Counsell of Warre, did well enough knowe, that the Groyne or Ferrall were then no morsells fit for our mouthes, our Forces being so abated, and those places so well warned and provided for, by our long delayes and impediments, besides there was no likelihood, that wee would ever ingage so many of her Majesties best Ships, within the circuit and mercy of those Harbours, upon so great disadvantage and hazard, as they must have adventured in doing any good on any of them, as they were then furnished. But wee daily see that it is the manner and *Pretences.* fashion of great Estates and Commaunders in the Wars, to give out and pretend many things, that indeed they intend not, as well to make their names the more famous and terrible, as also many times to amaze the world with false Alarums, thereby either to hold their true purposes the more secret, or at least to give them the better speed and passage, by diverting the Enemyes. A custome neither new nor usuall: and therefore not repeated as any extraordinary observation. In this sort all things being ordered and repaired, and our Generall returned with full Commission and resolution to proceed: his Lordship in stead of the Merehoneur (which was so weakened and disabled, as that shee could not goe forth againe this journey) shipped himselfe in the Dewrepulse, which was Vice-Admirall, and our Vice-Admirall tooke

unto himselfe the Lyon, in liew of the other. And on Wednesday, being the seventeenth of August, 1597, a little before sunne setting, wee wayed our Ancors, and set sayle, but with much labour got out of Plimouth Road, being forced to use our Tow-boates, to set us cleere of the Harbour, the winde being somewhat slacke and scant. Notwithstanding, afterwards a sea-boord, wee finding the weather more favourable, held our course for the North Cape, and the three and twentieth of August, wee fell athwart the Bay of Alchasher, and at last bare full in with it. The which course, the Master of our Ship (called Broadebant) much disliked, thinking it very inconvenient and perillous for so great a Fleet, so wilfully to be imbayed upon an Enemies Coast, but yet followed the Generalls course.

Bay of Alchasher.

The foure and twentieth of the same moneth, being Bartholmew day, wee met a foule storme in that Bay, most extreamly violent for the time, but lasted not above five or sixe houres. In which storme the S. Matthew, whereof Sir George Carew, Master of the Ordnance, was Captaine, two houres before day falling into an head Sea, having her Spright-sayle out, brake over-boord her Bolt-spright, and Fore-mast close to the Partners, which for the Ships safetie was cut from her side; In the Fore-top foure Mariners were drowned, keeping their watch there, and the fall of the Masts broke two Ancors, and carried the third into the Sea, upon which disaster (according to the manner of the Sea) some Ordnance was discharged, and many Lanternes hanged upon the shrowdes, to give notice of her distresse in the night. But after day light, the Garland (whereof the Earle of Southampton was Captaine) drew neere to her succour, who beholding with griefe, the miserable estate that this Ship was in, and likely to bee worse, for that her Mayne Mast, with the Ships rowling had loosened it selfe in the Partners, and in danger to breake in the step (which if it had done, it would presently have sunke her.) The Earle, though

S. Matthew distressed.

[IV. x. 1944.]

hee was not able to take all the men out of her, into his owne Ship, being in number about seven hundred persons, yet hee was desirous and carefull to preserve as many as hee might. And to that end sent his Pinnace to Sir George Carew, praying him, and as many as hee would select of his Company to come unto him: which noble offer of his Lordship, the Master of the Ordnance (as hee had reason) thankfully received: but having a more tender care of the losse of his Honour, then of the hazard of his life, would not forsake the Ship, but made election rather, to run the fortune of the rest of his company, then to provide for the particular safetie of himselfe, and some other Captaines, and Gentleman of good qualitie, whereof hee had store. This answere, being returned, the Earle was yet unsatisfied, and being desirous to save as many as his Ship could well receive, and especially those of the better sort, sent his Pinnace to the Saint Matthew againe, perswading them not wilfully to lose themselves. But the Captaine persevered in his former resolution; and when some gallant men of his company would gladly have taken the Earles offer, and have left their consorts to their fortune, Sir George Carew would in no wise suffer a man to depart, because it should bee no discomfort to the rest, but openly protested, that both hee, they, and the Ship, would altogether runne on fortune. Whereupon the Earle, seeing that his staying longer with the Saint Matthew, could in no sort give her men reliefe, and fearing by staying too long, to be farre ingaged in the Bay of Alchasher, and to loose his Admirall, followed the Fleet.

Sir George Carews resolution.

These brave resolutions have beene also used heretofore oftentimes, by such as have commanded in the Royall Ships, and sometimes by the Admiralls themselves. And it is well knowne to many Sea-men living at this day, that Edward, Earle of Lincolne, High Admirall of England, a valiant man, and worthy Gentleman, in the time of Queene Elizabeth, being in

Ed. E. of Lincolne High Admirall.

service on the Narrow Seas, with her Royall Navie, chanced in a tempest to fall with his Ship athwart a sand, whereby shee was in great danger to bee bulged and lost; whereupon the Captaine and Master of the Ship, perswaded him in that extreamitie and danger, to take the benefit of his Pinnace, and save himselfe aboord the next of the Fleet. But the Earle, according to his honourable mind, openly vowed and protested, that no danger should cause him to leave his company in distresse, that for his love had followed him to the Seas: Besides, said hee, I honour the Queene my Mistresse so much, to bring her word that I have saved my selfe, and lost her Ship: and therefore let us do our best to save altogether; for at this banquet wee will all drinke of one cup. Wherein, as hee gave himselfe great glory and reputation, so it seemed, that fortune favoured his vertue and courage; for in the end, with diligence and labour beyond all hope, the Ship came safe off. These extreamities and hazards on the Sea, bring to my minde an accident worthy the relating, and a piece of service not unprofitable for Sea-men in like cases to bee observed; and this it is. In the Queenes raigne, about the time that the Pope and the King of Spaine, sent forces into Ireland to ayd the Earle of Desmond, who then rebelled in Munster, there was sent to the Seas a Fleet of her Majesties Ships, whereof Sir John Parrot was Admirall, in the Revenge, and Sir William Gorges, my Father, in the Dread-naught Vice-Admirall; who when they had performed their service on the Coast of Ireland, and other places, in their returne homewards, the Vice-Admirall chanced to take an English Pirate, whose name was Derivall, a very valiant and skilfull Mariner. This Derivall, the Admirall tooke aboord his owne Ship, and kept him prisoner in the Bilbowes. But so it fortuned, that a great storme arising in the Narrow Seas, the Fleet was scattered, and Sir John Parrats Shippe ranne upon a Sand, where, a good time shee

Audaces fortuna juvat.

Sir John Parrot.

Sir W. Gorges.

Derivall a Pirat, better Mariner then man.

did dangerously beate, having strucken all his Sayles, and with every Billow was like to bee bulged. And in this desperate extremitie they saw no other way left, but how they might with Boates, and Rafts save the men, and forsake the Shippe; some being of one opinion, and some of another, as hope or despaire led them. This Derivall being then prisoner in the Bilbowes, sent word to the Admirall, that hee knew well the lying of that Land, and would direct them a way how to save the Ship and all the company, if hee would promise him on his Faith, and Honour, to get his Pardon when hee came home in recompence thereof. The Admirall willingly accepted the proffer, and ingaged his Faith for the performance of his demand, and taking him out of the Bilbowes, bad him bestir himselfe. Whereunto Derivall answered, In hope you will save my life, according to your Word and Faith given, I will (by Gods helpe) save all yours: but if I thought otherwise, I had rather here drowne with so good company, then bee hanged at home alone. The Admirall bidde him not doubt it, but follow his businesse. Whereupon Derival presently commanded the Master and Mariners, to hoyse up all their Sayles they could make, to the very Bats end, which was cleane contrary to that they had done before, (for fearing the mighty winds, they had strooke all their sayles, and so lay thumping on the Sands) but now the strong gale having filled all their sayles, still as the billow rose, it drave the Ship forwards, and so in foure or five shoves, being driven with the violence of the windes and the waves, with his stirrages he cut cleane through and athwart the Sand, and floated into the Sea. This was a desperate remedie for a desperate danger; for if hee had not used the benefit of her sayles, and carried her athwart (the Ship being a strong built vessell) shee would still have layen tumbling on the Sand, and at last broken her selfe. Notwithstanding this good service done by Derivall, when hee came home, his reward was

Duro nodo durus cuneus.

[IV. x. 1945.]

Derivall hanged against promise.

an halter, his offence being remembred, and his desert forgotten: and yet the Admirall did his best to save him according to his promise. But surely (in my poore opinion) in such cases a State should doe well, for examples sake, and for incouragement of others, to take notice of such extraordinary services, and to remember that vertue deserves no lesse to bee cherished, then vice to be chastised, and that to whom a State committeth the trust or confidence of a Generalls or Admiralls place, it should also allow him the honor, to make good his word for any thing, that concernes the advancement of the service, wherewith hee is put in trust.

Advice.

But I will return againe to Sir George Carew, whom we left tottering in his wrackt Ship, and in a great storme, for I have occasion here to stand somewhat upon the Relation of his hard adventures after his disaster, because I have heard it by many that were with him in the Ship, often, and at large discoursed of; and himselfe being a principall Officer in the Action, shipt in a vessell of great charge, it cannot bee reputed as a digression, or impertinent from the matter, for small is the reward of those that so resolutely engage, and expose their lives for the service of their Prince and Countrey, if they should not bee allowed the comfort of honourable memory. After the departure of the Earle of Southampton from the S. Mathew, as aforesaid, many Counsells in this distressed Ship were held for the cutting of her Mayne Mast over-board, which with rowling was growne at last to be so loose, as that it was continually feared that it would break in the Stop, and when the Carpenters were ready to begin that worke, the storme ceased, and the Seas began to calme, wherein finding comfort, they made of a spare top Mast a Jury Fore-mast, and the Pinnace sayle served for a Fore-sayle. In this pittifull estate the ship still running before the winde, which shee could not otherwise doe by reason of her small Fore-sayle, within foure dayes after by the goodnesse of God, came safely to an anchor at the Ile of Saint Martreines

Story of the S. Matthew.

in France, where Sir George Carew made all the meanes hee might to get a new Mast, whereby hee might follow the Fleet. But upon all that Coast hee could not provide himselfe of any to fit so great a Gallyon. And therefore of necessitie having setled his Mayne-mast, he returned for England, and within few dayes arrived in the Haven of Portsmouth.

S. Matthew brought home.

Hee thus having brought the Saint Mathew (beyond all hope) safe within a good Harbour, not any thing dismayd with past perills, presently dispatched Captain Francis Slingsby in post to the Court, to advertise the Lords of her Majesties Councell, of the misfortunes which had befalne him, and there withall humbly desired that he might be permitted to take her Majesties ship called the Adventure, which was then in that Harbour, and in her to follow the Fleet, which being granted he shipped himselfe in her, and according to the instructions (which were delivered to every Captaine of the Fleet) hee sought for the Admirall at the Groyne, which was the first Randevous set downe in the instructions aforesaid, from thence hee made to the Rocke, and not finding the Fleet at either of these places, he sailed to the Cape Saint Vincent, where it was resolved by the Lord Admirall and Councell of the Warre to stand off and on, and to attend the comming home of the West Indies Fleet. There hee had intelligence by a small man of Warre of Plimouth, that the Generall with the whole Fleet was at the Ilands of the Asores, whereunto he directeth his course. And when hee was (as hee esteemed) within one hundred leagues of the Tercera, he had intelligence by another small man of Warre, in the which a man of Sir William Brookes was Captaine, that followed the Fleet for purchase, that the Lord Generall in his opinion was at that time upon the Coast of England, for hee had left the Ilands fourteene daies before the Adventure, and he did meet; upon which intelligence he changed his course for England. And not farre from Ushent in the night, hee fell into the middest of a great Spanish Fleet, which

C. Fr. Slingsby.

Sir George Carews adventures in the Adventure.

Spanish Fleet.

had bin with the Adelantado upon the Coast of England, & then homeward bound; but the night being stormy, he escaped that perill, and yet not without great danger. For one of the Spanish Gallions which was supposed to bee the Admirall (for shee carried a mightie Lanthorne in her Poope) passed so neere to the Adventure, that their Mayne-yards in the end were foule one of the other, so as they hardly avoyded their stemming of their Ships, which in all likelihood must have sunke one, or both. With this storme the Adventure was forced into Ireland, *Corke Haven.* into Corke Haven in Munster, where hee repaired his Ship of certaine leakes shee had, and also mended her Mayne Mast, which was strangely shivered with a whirle-wind. And then putting to Sea againe for England, a *Danger by storme.* little before day, in a storme the Ship was driven upon the lee shoare within Beachy in Sussex; and not being able to double that head-land, in the endeavouring whereof all the Sayles, being by violence of weather rent from the yards, to avoid running upon the Rockes, they came to an anchor, every Billow overwashing the Ships head, that neither by pumping, nor lading out of the water, they were able to free her: and the men in her so tired with labour, as no hope of safetie was left. The last remedy was to cut all the Masts and Tackle over-boord, which lightened the Ship, and by that meanes shee was preserved. After thirtie houres of this extreame perill, the storme ceased, and so by God's favour with a Jury Mast, which was made of the Boat Mast, and the Boat [IV. x. 1946.] Sayle, having no Mast nor anchor left but one, he arrived upon Allhollenday in the Downes, beyond all expectation of the Masters and Mariners, who made no other reckoning then to be lost.

And these were the accidents that separated Sir George Carew from the Fleet, in the huge stormes on Bartholmew day, in the Bay of Alchasher, as aforesaid. *S. Andrew.* In which storme the Saint Andrew at that time spent her mayne top Mast, and lost us for three or foure dayes, but all the rest of the Fleet, (except our Ships, which

carried the Low-Country Souldiers) kept together in the Bay. And so many as came to us after at the Rocke, were beaten also from the Admirall in that Bay, and so were many other Ships, which found us after at the Rocke, to the number of thirty and odde sayle. Whereupon a rumour was afterward raised, that the Reare-Admirall was gone away with thirty sayle from the Fleet, to the overthrow of the intended service. Our Admirall still bare in with the land, & the most part of the Fleet followed the same course. The next day we made the high Land of Portugall, and within some three houres after, Cape Prior, where our Admirall with divers other of the Fleet, did beare in so close aboord the shore, as that all the Country over began to kindle fires. The which manner of discovering our selves (as I do remember) was much noted by divers good Souldiers, as well by Sea, as Land: for indeed it was reputed no great policie, nor discretion in us, to run in so close aboard the shoare, if we had any secret or sudden exploit to performe on that Coast, as it was pretended. For that Bravado of ours, did but give them more warning to provide for themselves, and to prevent us. And I have observed that those braving humours, have of late yeeres been the hindrance, and losse of many good fortunes, as well in Sir Francis Drake his two last Voyages to the Indies, and Sir John Norris in his to Lisbon, by staying at the Groyne, as also in others, &c.

Course of the Fleet.

Bravados often unseasonable.

Towards the evening, we put roome againe from the Coast, and beat up and downe in the Bay to free us from thence, expecting a wind wherewith to double the North Cape, which, within two or three dayes wee had, and so passed along within ten leagues of the Coast by Ferrall, the Groyne, and Cape Bealim, and so weathered the North Cape. And as the Fleet together was passing along towards the South, almost as farre as the Iles of Bayon, our Ship (the Wastspite) being then a middest them all, on the seven and twentieth of August, broke her mayne yard in sunder in the very middest by the

Wastpite distressed.

Parrell. Whereupon we presently discharged a Peece of Ordnance, and made our misfortune knowne to our Admirall, who himselfe spake with us, and also at that time had a great leake broken out upon his owne Ship. And there by his order and permission we were willed to repaire our mayne Yard the best wee could, and untill it were finished in that birth to goe on with our Fore-sayle towardes the Rocke before the winde, whiles hee with the Fleet would in towardes the Coast, and so, wee there to ply up and downe about the height of the Rocke, untill his Lordship came unto us, or during the dayes limited in the generall instructions, and thence to passe onwards to the South Cape, and there to remaine according to the said directions. And yet wee did not for two dayes after depart, though to our great disease; for wee wallowed in the trough of the Sea, and rowled so extreamely, as that wee had like to have lost our mayne Mast also. After this order given, wee presently tooke advice the best wee could, and set our hands together for the repayring and finishing of our mayne Yard, being broken in the Parrell, a very evill place to amend: wherein that night wee could doe little good, more then to free the Sayles and Tackle from it. Notwithstanding the very next morning the Admirall sent a commandement to us, that wee should presently attend him with all speed, for that hee meant to put in with the Land: The which wee were altogether unable to performe, our mayne Yard being in sunder, and impossible it was so suddenly in one night to repayre it, and without it, wee were not able to worke upon a wind, (as all Mariners know) having but our Fore-sayle and Mizen, and the winde almost of the Land, so as it had beene but an idle labour, for the more we strived, the faster wee fell off. Besides, if wee could have layd the Land with that sayle, it had beene a madnesse to put our selves upon the Enemies Coast in that estate, for if the wind had then changed to the West, we wanting all our mayne Sayles, must have yeelded or perished. So as in regard of this necessitie, we did for

two daies, as aforesaid ply up and down, untill wee had repaired our Yard, and fitted our sayles unto it, being now five foot shorter then it was before.

Whilest wee were thus distressed on our Enemies Coast, Sir William Brooke, Captaine of the Dread-nought came unto us and tarried with us, out of his owne charitie and friendly disposition, for there were no directions (that wee heard of) given to any to accompany us in that distresse. Onely the Vice-Admirall (of his owne noble care) very kindly and honourably hayled us, and offered what comfort and helpe hee could give us; some others afterwards did the like. But we having yeelded due thankes to the Vice-Admirall for such his noble care and curtesie desired no more company, but wished all others of our Squadron to repaire unto the Admirall; contenting our selves with Sir William Brooke in the Dread-naught, and two or three other small men of our owne Squadron, which of their owne accord followed us. Neither did we in all this time intreat the company of any one Ship more to stay with us, albeit the contrary was very falsly suggested and reported in a strange manner of phrase, which was, that the Reare-Admirall upon the breaking of his Mayne-yard, willed all his Squadron and those that loved him to keepe him company, and not to follow the Admirall. But as this was a monstrous untruth, raised out of malice to the Reare-Admirall, thereby to invegle the Admirall against him; so the authors were afterwards ashamed of their impudent slander, when the truth was made manifest at our meeting againe with the Admirall and the Fleet at the Ilands of Asores.

S. W. Brooke.

Vice-Admirals care.

Rumors.

[IV. x. 1947.

As soone as wee had mended our Maine-yard, wee bare in with the Coast, making all the inquiry that we could for our Admirall and the Fleet, but could not have any intelligence of them. Whereupon casting many conjectures, wee sent a small Man into the Iles of Bayon, but could learne no newes of him there. Then wee thought verily that hee would hold on his course for the South-Cape, according to the generall

instructions, we well knowing that hee could not then put in for Ferrall or the Groine (as was afterward colourably suggested) the wind being flat against him, and our whole Fleet having over-shot it neere twentie leagues before that our Yard was broken; and therefore it was rather a pretence to seeme desirous to undertake it, then that there was any possibilitie to performe it. For besides that wee had overshot it, and the wind contrary, so as we could not recover it again, both those Ships were wanting which were chiefly designed to bee adventured in that service, namely the Saint Andrew and the Saint Mathew, two huge Gallions of the King of Spaines, that were but the yeere before taken at the sacke of Cales, and onely saved of fortie or fiftie saile that were then beaten and burnt to ashes. Upon these reasons wee shaped our course for the Rocke, plying up and downe in that height for a few dayes. In which time wee gave chase to divers Spanish ships which wee beate into Cast-keyes, and caused some of them to runne on ground, wee being so neere Cast-keyes as that we could number divers tall ships that road there under the Fort. Here wee hourely expected our Admirall, being the very appointed place for a Randevous to all the Fleet, and would gladly have met with him, being of our selves but a weake force to lye on that Coast, if the Spanish Armado had beene abroad, as wee were to suspect it was, or in a readinesse at the least. And therefore it was fouly falsified or mistaken of those that gave it out, and carryed the newes into England, that wee had of purpose left and lost our Admirall to range the Coast alone at our pleasures. For being no stronger then wee were, and lying as wee did in the height that was appointed by the generall instructions to the whole Fleet, it was not to be imagined in any sense or reason, that wee desired to leave or lose the Fleet upon the breaking of our Maine-yard so neere the Coast of Spaine, and the Adelantadoes Forces then bruted to

S. Mathew and S. Andrew taken at Cadiz.

bee abroad. But indeed our Reare-Admirall commanded all our Squadron to follow the Generall, because he pretended to adventure upon the Groine. Yet we hoped, and so hee promised, that either hee would come off to us againe where wee lay, or find us without faile at the Rocke, but did neither: for there were three places of our Randevous appointed, if any separation happened. The first at the North Cape, and failing there, then at the Rocke, and failing there, then at the South Cape. Now when all such ships as were sundred by tempest in the Bay of Alcasher, failed of their Admiral at the North Cape, they then sought him at the Rock, where they found the Reare-admiral, who held them altogether, and brought them to the Generall at the Ilands; else had they all returned home, after they had missed of some Admirall to command them at the third and last place of meeting: for none of our Fleet went so farre to the Southward.

Whilest wee thus stayed about the Rocke, the Carvells of Lisbone, and of the parts thereabouts, would daily come swarming about us like Butter-flyes, so neere, as that we might cast a stone into some of them, and yet could wee never catch any one of them, so yare and nimble they are. But if wee would have bestowed any musket or great shot on such bables, wee might peradventure have killed some of their men, or sunke some of them, which wee forbare in hope to draw them to us oftner, and then if any calme had happened, we might have taken them with our Boats, and by them gotten some Intelligence. At the same time also there came to the Rocke neere thirtie saile of ships of our owne Victuallers and Transporters, amongst whom was Captain Sidney, Captaine White, Captain Berry, and others, some of whom wee tooke into us out of their owne weake ships; who having lost the Generall in the Bay of Alcasher, in the storme aforesaid, sought him first at the North Cape; and missing him there, came to the Rocke, according to the generall instructions,

and they by chance finding the Reare-Admirall at the Rocke, were held together till wee either found or heard from the Generall. After we had thus plied up and downe about the height of the Rocke, and yet determined at last to have passed on for the South Cape, there came athwart us a small Barke of England, with whom wee communed, inquiring what newes in the South parts where they had beene. They told us, that they had lately met a Man of Warre bound for England, that had taken an Indian man, naming the Captaine, who (as they said) informed them for certaine that the Atlantado was gone for the Ilands, to weft home the Indian Fleet. This report seemed to carry with it good likelihood of truth, for we heard before that the Atlantado was preparing to the Seas, and also were certain, that both the King of Spaine his Treasure, and other Indian Fleets were to come home that yeere. Besides, we did not suspect that one of our owne Countrey would be so lewd, or durst presume to informe her Majesties Navie, with a meere false coyned suggestion, as indeed this was found to be afterward. For such a dishonest treacherous part may sometimes turne to a great inconvenience, in diverting a whole Fleet by a false intelligence, and is a point better fitting a Traitor then a true man, and well deserveth severe and publike punishment for an example to all other. For although sea-faring men will now and then (as doe Poets and Painters) take liberty to fable, yet it is no good/ jesting nor dalying with Princes affaires in that sort, and therefore if I could call to mind the Captaine or Masters name, surely I would doe them the curtesie now to remember them.

False intelligence by an Englishman.

[IV. x. 1948.]

Hereupon our Reare-Admirall thinking it very requisite, and his dutie to informe our Admirall of this advertisement as soone as might bee, ernestly required the same Man to ply up towards the North-Cape all alongst the Coast as well as he could, (because it lay in his way homewards bound) to find out our Fleet, & to

informe our Admiral of this Intelligence. But he answered in the hearing of all the company, that the Captaine that had taken this Indian Prize, had already sent the Admirall a Letter to the same effect. Yet the Reare-Admirall for the more suretie (doubting that a Letter might miscarry, or that no such Letter might bee sent, being but an excuse of this Man to put off the trouble of seeking out our Fleet, being a matter of great importance) commanded one of his small Men (that at that time followed us) to deliver the same advertisement to our Admirall, as hee had received it by word of mouth; and to use all diligence to seeke him, and the Fleet, and to deliver the report truly in manner as it was related, and withall to signifie unto his Lordship, that wee there attended him in that height according to the directions, and so would observe all places and times appointed, and that in such sort his Lordship should be sure to heare of us, upon any occasion to wait on him. This message, and Messenger could sufficiently witnesse, that we had no intent nor desire to abandon the Fleet, or to sequester ourselves, being at the place set downe in the generall instructions. This small Man that had this message in charge to deliver to his Lordship, the next day (by good hap) found out the Fleet, and upon delivery of this newes, within two dayes after, our Reare-Admirall received two severall Letters to one effect from the Admirall one after another. First somewhat taxing him for not writing, then for his absence and withal requiring him presently to follow him to the Ilands, whether he said he would (by Gods helpe) hasten to find the Adelantado, not doubting but to give his Mistresse a better account of that service, then the Adelantado should yeeld his Master: so, or much to that effect the Letters went, for I my selfe read them (with the Reare-Admirall his permission) and therefore can truly report their contents.

Letters from the Admirall.

Upon this suddaine and strict message, we presently altered our determination from going to the South-

Cape, to hast to the Ilands, and therfore we presently gave notice to Sir William Brooke and the rest of our consorts, of our Admirall his Letters, and what way he meant to take, and so instantly without any further delay, we shaped our course for the Ilands. But in this passage of ours towards the Ilands, as wee had a franke wind, so met wee with other lets. For our Maineyard began againe to cracke, insomuch that wee were inforced to strengthen it with more fishing. And as commonly misfortunes never come alone, so in the necke of this trouble, our Mayn-mast began to shrinke also, springing great flawes in divers places, in so much that at last we greatly doubted with every high blast of wind, that it would have beene blowne over-boord. This sudden disaster much troubled us, and the more, to thinke what unequall constructions would bee made thereof. Wee acquainted all the rest of our consorts with this late befallne mischiefe, and desired Sir William Brooke in the Dread-naught to carry the light for all the company, seeing that our ship was so defective that we must needs stay to see if we could make the Mast serviceable, but would use all our best means to come speedily after, desiring him, and all the rest to hast to our Admiral, and to signifie our misfortunes, and withal to make the more speed, for that if the Adelantado were at the Ilands, our Admirals Forces would be wel helped by their companies, & so for a few hours, we and our consorts parted, only we retained two little small Men with us for our better comfort. Yet notwithstanding this order and direction given, so great were our desires to go on, & our labor such, as that the same night wee had new fished our crased Maine-mast with a spare Maine top Mast that lay by us, and then so plied our sayles as that the next day towards the evening, wee overtooke Sir William Brooke againe, and the rest of our consorts hasting towards the Ilands as was directed. And on the eight of September, in the

They shape their course for the Ilands.

New distresses.

Sep. 8. They make Tercera.

yeere 1597. being Thursday, wee made the Ile called the Tercera, and weathered it to the North-west; where we met with an English Merchant that came from Saint Michaels, and had layen trading about those Ilands some six weekes together, but could not tell us any newes of our Admirall and the Fleet, albeit they were passed by but two dayes before. Which shewes how easie a matter it is for shipping to passe by amongst those Ilands unseene, and how difficult it is to find out such Ships among those Ilands, as would shelter themselves from men of Warre, and covet not to bee met withall, seeing that so great a Fleet could passe by unseene or unheard of, by one that came just from the Ilands, at the same time that our Generall came thither. And therefore it is a necessary observation for all such men of Warre, as would meet or intercept any shipping, that doth touch at those Ilands, or do come from thence, to keep in the maine sea, and so to attend their comming forth, and not to puzzle themselves with running in amongst those Ilands to seeke for purchase, except they have others of their consorts lying in the Sea at the receite, if they chance to slip by, which is easily done. This Merchant informed us of certaine West Indian men, and two Carracks, that a month before had touched there, bound for Spaine. And by this Merchant wee wrote into England how affaires went. In passing thus onwards we discovered Saint Georges Ilands, and there we dispatched two of our small men, with charge to search about the Islands for our Fleete, and to enforme our Admirall, that we were going for Flores, and Cuervos, in hope to meete him there, withall willing those small men to come thither unto us. And yet I remember many in our Ship were doubtfull, and laid great wagers, that our Fleet was not yet come to the Islands, for that this Merchant could make no report thereof.

Note for the Ilands.

[IV. x. 1949.]

Whilest we were before Saint Georges, we were

very much becalmed for a day or two, and the weather extreamely hot, insomuch as the winde could not beare the sailes from the mastes, but were faine to hull in the Sea, to our great discontentment, that before had used such great diligence and haste to meete with our Admirall, and the rest of the Fleete. Notwithstanding the winde began againe to be favourable, and so setting forwards, the next of the Ilands that we made, were Gratiosa, Pyke, and Fayall. And as we ranged by Gratiosa, on the tenth of September, about twelve a clocke at night, we saw a large and perfect Rainbow by the Moone light, in the bignesse and forme of all other Rainbowes, but in colour much differing, for it was more whitish, but chiefly inclining to the colour of the flame of fire. This made us expect some extraordinary tempestuous weather, but indeede it fell out afterward to be very calme and hot. This Rainbow by the Moone light I doe the rather take occasion to note; for that I remember that Plinie in his naturall History of the world, speaking of Meteors, denieth any Rainbow to be seene, but opposite to the Sunne, and never in the night season: and yet (saith he) Aristotle reporteth for a raritie, that in his time there was a Rainbow seene by night, but withall affirmeth, that it could not be but at the full of the Moone. But in these parts they are very ordinary, as well when the Moone is not at the full, as otherwise, which maketh me to thinke, that these Ilands were never knowne to the Greeks, nor to the Romans, nor that those former ages did truely conceive or know many things, that in these latter times have bin discovered. For although Salomon saith that nothing is new under the Sunne (which no doubt is most true, for all things have had their being since the first Creation) yet all things have not bin knowne in all places, and to all men alike. But as the long lives of men in the first ages no doubt made their knowledge the greater by the benefit of

Rainbowe by Moonlight differing in color from those of Sunne.

long observation: so againe, we in these latter dayes, by the tradition of their knowledge, left unto us, and also by the discovery of those things, which time hath revealed, have found out many secrets to them unknowne. But to returne.

The same night by the light of the Moone (which was then almost fallen with the Horison) we might espie certaine sailes passing towards the Eastwards of Gratiosa; whereupon we gave order that a couple of our small men should follow, and give them chase, as we in the Wastspight likewise did, and hung out two lights to cause Sir William Brooke in the Dread-naught, and the rest of our consorts, to hold the same course with us, but wee were followed by none of them, which when we perceived, and the Moone-light being now by the earth so shaddowed from us, as that we could hold no longer sight of these sailes (which had thrust themselves in amongst the Islands) we cast about, and held on our former course. But by this chasing, for this little time (even as we suspected) we lost the Dread-naught, and most of our consorts, and never saw them after, untill we met them with our Admirall, and the rest of our Fleete at Flores; whither with scant windes we came, on the foureteenth of September, and then discovered all our Fleete. But at the first making of them, we stood somewhat doubtfull, whether it was our owne, or the Spanish Armado, they being as farre from us, as we were able to ken out of our maine top, and therefore we did still strive to keepe into the weather, in approaching neere unto them, untill at last, we perfectly made them to be English bottomes. As soone as we were come within two leagues of them, the Seas being very calme, our Reare-admirall, my selfe, and some other Gentlemen of our ship, went aboord our Generall in a Barge, and dined with him, who seemed to be the joyfullest man living for our arrivall, protesting, that he never beleeved that we would leave him, although divers perswaded

They come to the Fleet.

Entertainment by the General.

him the contrary; and acknowledged that hee was sorry for a Letter which he had written by Master Robert Knolles into England against us, promising presently to make a dispatch of purpose, contrary to the former: having also found soone after by examination, that not any one of these thirtie and odde sailes of victuallers, and transporters, which came now with us, were drawne from him by the Reare-admirall, but that they all came to the Rocke to seeke the Generall, and there by chance found us, who drew them to the Islands, much against their desires, being most of them in great distresse. Afterwards wee enquired aboord our Generall, what had passed with them since we departed, upon the breaking of our maine yard, before the Isles of Bayon; and we learned that in all this time, they had done nothing but ranged the Seas, to seeke the Adelantado, and were come to the Islands but three daies before us, where the Governours of the Islands of Flores and Cuervos, came to our Generall.

Inhabitants of Flores & Cuervos.

The Inhabitants of which two Islands seemed to be but a wretched needie kinde of people, and yet as crafty, as base, and bare. These very submisly humbled themselves unto our Generall, bringing with them Fruites, Hens, and other fresh victuall, imploring favour, and mercie at his hands, and that he would vouchsafe to give them his safeguard under his hand, to protect them from the spoile, and invasion of our men: alledging for themselves that they were an harmelesse poore people, that gave offence to none, but dwelt in Islands that yeelded comfort and reliefe oftentimes, to all Sea-faring men in their long Voyages, betweene the Indies and Christendome, and were anciently subjects to the Portugals, friends to our Nation, and nothing guiltie of the Hostilitie betweene us, and the Spaniards, who (as they said) did usurpe, and tyrannize both over the Portugals and them. Our Generall heard, and entertained them, with great curtesie, and told them that he came not to afflict poore men,

[IV. x. 1950.]

Earle of Essex his answer and behaviour to the Ilanders.

but was sent by the Queene his Mistris, to chastise the intollerable pride and insolencie of the Spanish, whose Indian Gold and riches, were imploied onely to the oppression, and disturbance of divers Christian States and Princes, and these Islands being the chiefe places of retrait and refreshing for his Fleetes, that passed betweene Europe and the Indies, were great meanes, and helpes, to further their boundlesse ambition, and tyrannie, with other discourse to that effect. And so inquiring of them very precisely, the times, and seasons that the Indian Fleetes, both inward, and outward bound, held in passing by those Islands; in conclusion gave them divers gifts, and his Protection in wrighting under his hand and seale from the violence of our Forces, which was very respectively observed, even to the value of an Hen, which no man durst take without paying for. Such was the moderation and bountie of this noble Gentleman our Generall, indued with many good gifts, though at the last he failed in the use of them.

After we had bin aboord our Generall, and dined with him, he acquainted our reare Admirall with the many conjectures, and surmises of our absence, and withall named unto him some of those men that had taxed him secretly with strange reports, and yet pretended to love him, which he protested (as aforesaid) he never beleeved, but thereby the better observed some mens scandalous, and cankered dispositions. In this sort did our Generall receive and welcome our reare Admirall, with the greatest kindenesse, and inward familiaritie that might be, and all the Gentlemen of his Companie with honorable curtesie, to the great dislike and hart-burning of some that much envied that liking, which of his owne disposition, our Generall did beare unto him: For albeit the Earle had many doubts and jealousies buzd into his eares against the other, yet I have often observed, that both in his greatest actions of service, and in his times of chiefest

Earle of Essex his respect to Sir W. Raleigh.

recreations, he would ever accept of his counsell and company, before many others that thought themselves more in his favour. And as touching the Advertisement that was sent into England, from the Isles of Bayon, by Master Robert Knolles, in a Pinnace called the Guiana, concerning us, that were forsaken, and left alone upon the breaking of our Maine yard: whereupon was pretended that many great exploits should have bin performed upon the coast of Spaine, if wee had not fallen from them (as was untruely suggested and reported) his Lordship promised the reare Admirall then, to send another advertisement, how we were all met againe, and had bin formerly severed by misfortunes onely, and not by any wilfull default in the reare Admirall, as was doubted. And that Advertisement sent formerly by Master Knolles, we well knew proceeded not out of any particular malice of the Generall to us, but onely to take that as a fit excuse to free himselfe from the enterprises of Ferall, or the Groine, which he had promised her Majestie to undertake, but saw it impossible to performe, by reason of the former crosses, and our long stay in Plimmouth; and therefore was glad to take the opportunity of any colour to satisfie her Majestie, and to discharge himselfe of that burthen, which we did all perceive, and therefore did strive the lesse to publish our Apologies, or to contest with a man of his place and credit, which (though in a right) had bin but bootelesse, and meere folly; and therefore we left him to his best excuse, and our apparant innocencie. And for the more plaine manifesting of the Message, I have thought it not amisse, here to insert the true copie of the Instructions verbatim, that our Generall sent by Master Robert Knolles into England, upon these accidents before the Isles of Bayon.

That we weighing Ancor and setting saile from the sound of Plimmouth, the seventeenth of this moneth

of August, having sometimes calmes, but for the most part, Westerly and Northeasterly windes; we fell on thursday, the five and twenty of this moneth with the Land, which is to the Eastward of the Cape Ortingall, which land we made in the morning about ten of the clocke, and stood in with the shoare, till three in the afternoone. Then finding the winde scant to ply to the Southward, I stood all night into the Sea, and the next morning in againe to the Land. By which boords, by reason of the head-sea, and the bare winde, we got nothing. On Friday night I stood off againe to the Sea, and about midnight the winde comming all Northerly, we got a good slant, to lye all along the coast: on Saturday in the morning, I discovered the Saint Andrew, whom we had lost sight of two or three dayes before. I bare with her, and had no sooner got her up, but Sir Walter Rawleigh shot off a peece, and gave us warning of his being in distresse. I presently bare with him, and found that he had broken his maine yard. Whereupon I willed him to keepe along the coast that birth that he was, till he got in the height of the North Cape, and my selfe having a desperate leake broke out as ever ship swam withall, which I was faine to lye by the lee, and feele, to stop it, which how it held us, you can report: and (God be thanked) that night we overcame it, and stopped it. The next morning we all came to Cape Finister, saving the Saint Matthew, who upon breaking of her fore maste went home: and the Wastspight with whom the Dreadnaught went without stop to the South Cape. This is all that is hapned to me. If her Majestie aske you, why there was no attempt upon the Fleete at Feral, you may say, I neither had the Saint Matthew, which was the principall ship for that execution, nor the Saint Andrew, till mine owne ship was almost sunke, and I not able to make saile, till Sir Walter Rawleigh with his owne ship the Dreadnaught, and very neere twenty saile were

[IV. x. 1951.] gone. Wee are now gone to lye for the Indian Fleete, for by Spaniards wee have taken, wee finde the Adelantado is not put to Sea this yeere. Of our successe, her Majestie shall from time to time be advertised: you shall acquaint Master Secretarie with this instruction; and both to him, and all our friends you must excuse our haste.

We being thus met all at Flores, desired our Generall to give us, and our consorts leave, to water there before we departed thence, as his Lordship and the rest had done before, which he yeelded unto, and very nobly lent us his owne long Boate, for our better speede, willing us there to water, whilest he with the rest of the Fleete, did ply up and downe to looke out for the Adelantado, or any Indian Fleete, that being the very fit place, and season for them. Hereupon whilest our men and Mariners were providing to water, our Reare-admirall, with Sir William Brooke, my selfe, and divers other Gentlemen went ashoare, to stretch our legs in the Isle of Flores, and to refresh our selves with such victuals as we could there get for our monie. And at our first landing there, we met with the Lord Gray, Sir Gylly Merricke, and other Gentlemen, and wee altogether walked a mile or two into the Countrie, and there dined in a little Village, where the barelegged Governour caused such things to be brought unto us, for our monie, as the Island afforded. In other sort we tooke nothing, which was very faire wars.

This Island seemes to be somewhat mountainous, yet having very good store of Fruits, Wheat, and other Corne. Their Corne they doe all keepe in large hollow vaults within the earth, having no other way nor entrance into them, but by a round hole in the top of the vault, onely so big as a man may creepe into it, and when it is closed up with a planke, and overstrewed with earth is very hard to be found out by strangers, for the which purpose they are so made, and much like the Caves in Gascoyne, and Languedocke, and such as are mentioned by

Cæsar to be used in Affricke. This Island lies more subject to the invasion of Sea-faring men, then any of the rest; for there all traders of the Indies doe usually water, and refresh themselves. But here I must not forget to relate, that before we had our leave to water, or were departed from the Generall, a Counsell was called, and holden, for the taking in of some of the Islands, and an orderly course set downe for the same; which was in this sort concluded on: The Admirall, and Reare-admirall to undertake Fayall; the Lord Thomas Howard Vice-admirall, and the Marshall Vere, to undertake Gratiosa; The Lord Mountjoye, Lieutenant Generall, and Sir Christopher Blunt Coronell Generall of the Foote to Saint Michaels: and the Netherland Squadron, was quartered to Pyke, where the greatest store of Wines doe grow, and therefore would not be taken in ill part of them, as we presumed. The reason why we resolved to master and waste all these Islands was, because it was determined by the Generall to attempt the Tercera it selfe: which enterprise was put off, because the Reare-admirall, and with him twenty or thirty saile were wanting. But being now (contrary to all expectation, and to many mens hopes) arrived, this resolution received a second life; but it was first thought necessary to take from them, and to helpe our selves, with all the victuals and other commodities that those Islands could affoord: For the performance of which with the more speede, we divided our selves into foure Companies, as before written: But surely the fortune of those poore wretches was lamentable, that fell into the Flemmings hands; for I thinke no people on the earth, can use lesse mercy, or greater insolencies then they doe, in all the places that they maister, which are subject to the Spanish Government: and yet I must say truely for them, that the Spaniards againe have used such tyrannie, and outrage in their jurisdictions over that industrious people, as hath well merited their irreconcileable malice, and withall hath cost the Spanish King many millions of Ducates, besides the

A Counsell for taking in the Ilands.

Holanders and Spaniards enmitie implacable.

life of many a proud Castilian, since the Execution of the Counts Egmount and Horne. And it is very admirable to see what heart and courage those Netherlanders are now growne unto, and how powerfully three or foure little Provinces, doe resist the forces of that mightie King, that keepes Millaine, Naples, and Sicill, in great bondage, in despight of all the Italians, who doe thinke themselves for valour, and for policie the Minions of the Earth, and yet bow their neckes to the Spanish yoake.

After this consultation for taking in of the Islands, as aforesaid, and leave given unto us, and our consorts to water with all the speede we could, at Flores, we having prepared our Caske, and all things in a readinesse to bring our fresh water aboord, about midnight, being the sixteenth of September, there came unto us from our Generall, Captaine Arthur Champernowne, with this message; That my Lord Generall was borne up for Fyall, and ment presently to take it in, and therefore willed us with all speede to follow him instantly, and though wee could not overtake him, yet at least to finde him there so soone as we could, and the same word was likewise delivered to Sir William Brooke, and the rest, that lay there to water. And further, our Generall sent us word, that we should supply all our wants of water, and fresh victuals at Fayall. And this night as we rode at ancor before Flores, we saw another Rainebow, by the Moone light, as before, and after the same manner, which (contrary to Plinies report of Aristotels opinion) was seene, though not at a full Moone, for the other was so seene some seven dayes before, in the which space, there could not be two full Moones. Upon this Message brought by Captaine Champernowne we forbare watering, and hasted all we could, to weigh our anchors, and to follow our Generall. And therefore gave a warning peece or two, to our Consorts before wee departed, and afterwards pack'd on all the sailes we could make to follow our Generall, whom we could not overtake, nor finde.

Rainbow by the Moone.

[IV. x. 1952.]

A.D. 1597.

The next morning we made Fayall, and entred the roade, and there missed of him also, contrary to our hopes, and to our great discontent. Whereat we could not but greatly marvell, because when he sent for us, he was six leagues neerer it, then we were, and besides, set saile towards it sixe or eight houres before us. Being arrived in the roade, wee beheld before our eyes a very fine Towne, pleasantly seated alongst the shoare side: from whence presently upon the sight of our entrance into the roade, they began to packe away with bag, and baggage all they could, with carriages of Horses and Carts, Women, Children, Friers, and Nunnes, and so continued in transporting all up into the Countrey for two dayes together. There was besides a strong Fort at one end of the Town, and another on the top of a very high Mountain, neere adjoyning, by nature very unaccessible, and steepe, and artificially fenced with Flanckers, Rampiers, and Ditch, and in it six Peeces of great Artillerie, mounted upon carriages, and two hundred Spaniards in garrison, beside others of the Island. These made certaine shot at our Ships as they anchored in the roade, but did not much harme, and set up a great red Auncient for us to gaze at: Besides, there were presently sent six Companies with their Colours, to intrench themselves upon the shoare side, to impeach our landing: Hereupon our Reare Admirall in his Barge, accompanied with my selfe onely and Captaine Morgan, rowed close aboord the high Fort, and all alongst the shoare side, towards the Towne, to see what fit place there was to make a discent against our Generals comming. From whence we were saluted with divers musket shot, that missed us but narrowly by good fortune, for we undiscreetly had with us neither Targets, nor Armors, but wished for them when it was to late. And therefore as well by that experience, as also by others in the same journey, that I saw at our landing upon a fortified trench, I saw it to be but an idle and unserviceable bravery, for men that are to doe service,

Fayall.

Unarmed rashnesse.

to expose their unarmed bodies and limbs, to the mercy of a Musket, or the push of a Pike: whereby they can neither with that abilitie, nor resolution, prosecute that they have in hand, nor yet so well preserve themselves as they ought to doe, for the bettering of their attempts. Besides, out of a Christian regard, they should not desperately cast away themselves, or carelesly spill their owne bloud, and the lives of many others, by such braving, and foolish examples. This night as we roade in the Harbour, there swomme aboord us from the Towne two Portugals that discovered unto us many things, greatly encouraging us to this exploit. And of this we may bouldly take knowledge, that the Portugals, and Inhabitants of those Islands, doe infinitely hate, and malice the Spaniards, and their Government, and would (no doubt) free themselves thereof gladly, if they were sure to fall under any other Government that were able to protect them from the Spaniards. And therefore if any powerfull Monarch, or State did attempt it, they should not be troubled as with a Conquest, for all the Inhabitants would soone be perswaded to revolt, and take part with the invaders, for the advancing of that businesse.

Spaniards hated by the Portugalls.

While we thus expected our Generall in vaine (to our no little marvell) that thought he had bin there before us, according to Captaine Champernownes report (the winde being as good then for him as for us) our Reare Admirall called a counsell of many Captaines, and Officers (that were come thither by order) to consult of the taking of the Towne, if our Generall came not, thinking it a great shame and pittie to let slip so faire a pray, so neere at hand, without attempting it in time, before they had carried all away. Besides, a great scorne and disgrace wee should doe our selves, to enterprise nothing upon them that had begun the warres, shooting first at us as we roade at ancor, and then after their bringing downe to the water side so many Auncients, did proudly as it were invite us to assaile them, if we durst, having withall, hung

out a red Flagge of defiance, from the top of the high Fort. The hope of the wealth of this good Towne, and the ransoming of Houses and Prisoners, together with those bravadoes which they shewed, did so set on fire all our Mariners and Souldiers, as that they began to mutine, and raile on the Reare Admirall, and at all the Commanders there, taxing them for these delaies, as not daring to attempt the taking thereof: Besides, they were the more eagerly set upon the spoile, and gaining of this Towne, and Fort, for that they saw no great likelihood of benefit by this Voyage, but what was gotten ashoare in the Islands. In conclusion, albeit we heard no newes of our Generall in two dayes more expectation, yet at the counsell of Captaines which our Reare Admirall had assembled, some of them varied much from the common desire, and would by no meanes assent to the landing, without my Lord Generall his knowledge. And of this opinion was Sir Guilly Mericke, Sir Nicholas Parker, and some other Captaines: Our Reare Admirall, with Sir William Brooke, my selfe, Sir William Harvey, and other Gentlemen, and Commanders of our Reare Admirall his Squadron (called to this consultation) were of a contrary opinion, judging that my Lord Generall would repute us but Idlers, and Cowards, to lye so long, before so good a Towne, with so many Ships and men, and to doe nothing in his absence, seeing them hourely before our eyes, so fast to carry, and packe away their goods and wealth. And this was also the common opinion and bruite, as well of the multitude, as of the Low Countrie Captaines. But yet the violent and earnest perswasions of Sir Guillie Merricke, did so prevaile with us, urging our obedience and duetie to our Generall, as that we staied from the Enterprise at that time, and expected our Generals comming one day longer, especially for that they perswaded us, if his Lordship came not the next day, then themselves would also land with us.

Which when we had also expected in vain, and the [IV. x. 1953.]

winde changing somewhat unfit for that Roade, our Reare Admirall, and divers of his Squadron, and many other of the Ships following him, weied, and coasted about the point, to the North-west side of the Island, some foure miles further from the Towne then we were before, and there let fall our ancors, being then a better Roade then the first, as the winde was changed. But Sir Guillie Merricke with some five or sixe Ships of his consorts, staied still in the first Roade, and would not budge. When we had in this sort changed our Roade, and being now the fourth day of our arrivall before Fayall (which was not above a daies sailing from the place, from whence our Generall sent for us) wee might see before us, a very fine and pleasant Countrie, full of little Villages, and fruitfull fields: and therefore we much desired to refresh our selves aland there with victuals, and water, as our Generall had promised we should doe, when we came to Fayall, and as divers others had done before us at Flores, and as we had then, but that we were called away to Fayall by Captaine Champernownes sodaine message from the Generall, as was aforesaid. And in truth we were in great want of fresh water, which we had not renued, since our setting out from Plimouth. All these occasions considered, and we being now retired from the Towne and Forts, we all resolved that wee might without offence, with a few of our owne men, goe ashoare, and refresh our selves, and seeke for water: whereupon we manned a Barge, a long Boate, and a Pinnace with three score Muskets, and forty Pikes, rather to guard our selves in our landing, and watering with discretion, then expecting any encounter or resistance, from the Towne or Forts, on the other side of the Island. But our men were no sooner placed in our Boates, and all things ordered, and we ready to put off from the Ships side, but we might discover sixe Auncients of foote, and some dosen Horsemen comming on a speedy march from the Towne and Forts, directly towards the

place where wee were to make our discent; for from one side of the high Fort on the Mountaine, they might also overlooke us, where our ships roade, and discover all our preparation.

When we had a while advised of this new Bravado, that they went about, and saw them still to come on faster, with so many strong companies of men (or at the least the bodies of men furnished with womens hearts) and had made such haste, as that they possessed themselves of the Trenches and Flankers, where we were to land, and there had placed their Companies, and Collors, attending our approach, as they made shew, by waving their Swords, and displaying their Auncients in great bravery (for doubtlesse they thought we feared to land in their faces, because we lay so long before the Town, and never attempted any thing, and were so shrunke aside off; after they had provoked us so with great shot, and many other affronts) we seeing that proportion of an hundred men (provided onely to guard our watering) to be too few to assault, and win a landing upon so many, in a place of so great disadvantage, and yet disdaining to goe backe, or make any shew of feare; our Reare Admirall in his Barge rowed to Sir William Brookes Ship, and to Sir William Harveyes, and desired them, and some other Sea Captaines, to accompany him in landing, with such men as conveniently they could furnish: For (said he) seeing these Spaniards and Portugals are so gallant to seeke and follow us, and to keepe us from watering, wee will try our fortunes with them, and either win our landing, or gaine a beating.

Sir William Brooke, Sir William Harvey, and some others, very willingly assented, and presently there were made ready with shot, and Pike one hundred and sixtie men more in Boates. And after this our Reare Admirall rowing by Captaine Bret, Sidney, White, Berry, and other Captaines of the Low Countrie Souldiers, that were there abroad in other Ships, they all cried out to

take them and their companies with them, assuring him, that if he adventured to land with Mariners, and with his owne attendants, without some Companies of Land Souldiers, hee would receive a disgrace. He answered, that he durst not take any of my Lord Generall his company of the Low Countries, no knowing in what service he ment to use them; but he was resolved with the Gentlemen, and company of his owne Squadron, first to make a discent, and then to call them, and send Boates for them, if he proceeded any further, and that neither my Lord Generall, nor any of his traine, should have cause to be ashamed of us, for undertaking that in the face of our Enemies, which we durst not follow, and performe. And therefore told those Captaines, that hee would first attempt to win a landing, and then after if they could but second him ashoare with two hundred men more, hee would undertake to lodge them that night in the Towne, and the next night after in the Forts. These Captaines were all glad of the newes, and promised to come after us, if we would send our Boates for them; for most of their Ships had lost their Boates with foule weather.

This order and direction being given, we hasted as fast as our Oares could ply without the company of any Low Countrie Souldiers (being as I said two hundred and sixty strong, and the enemy more then the double as many) to the landing place which was first guarded with a mighty ledge of Rockes, some forty paces long into the Sea, and afterwards trenched, and flanked with earth and stone, and onely a narrow lane betweene two wals left for our Entrance. But withall, we caused some of our Pinnaces that carried Ordnance, to lye as close to the shoare as they could, to flanke and beate upon them in their trenches a little before, and just as wee made our approach; which we found to good purpose, and as well performed, especially by one Captaine Banker, in a fine Flee Boate of the Flemmish Squadron. But if there had bin but one

Hard place to land in.

Helpe by Pinnaces.

[IV. x. 1954.]

hundred Low Countrie Spaniards at that defence, it had cost many of our lives, & yet perhaps have missed our purpose too: For a small company with any resolution, might have made good that place, against a farre greater force then ours were at that time. But as we made onwards with our Boats, the shot plaied so thicke upon us, as that in truth the Mariners would scarce come forwards, having the lesser liking to the businesse, the neerer they came to it. And in like sort did I see some there stagger, and stand blanke, that before made great shewes, and would gladly be taken for valiant Leaders: and some of these, our Reare Admirall did not spare to call upon openly, and rebuke aloud with disgracefull words, seeing their basenesse. *Basenesse of some.*

And withall finding a generall amazement amongst the Mariners, and as it were a stay amongst all the Boates, well perceiving that this manner of hovering, was both more disgracefull, and also more unsafe, lying so open to the enemies shot (which through feare and amazement the Mariners, and Rowers, neither observed nor understood) with a loud voice commanded his Water-men to rowe in full upon the Rockes, and bad as many as were not afraid, to follow him: Hereupon some Boates ran in with us, and out of them there landed Master Garret a Pentioner, now Earle of Kildare, a Noble and valiant Gentleman; Sir William Brooke, Sir William Harvey, Sir John Scot, Master Duke Brooke, Captaine Henry Thinne, Captaine White, Master Thomas Rugeway, Master Walter Chute, Captaine Arthur Radford, Master Henry Allen, Captaine William Morgan, Master Charles Mackart, and divers other Gentlemen, whose names I would not omit, if I could call them all to minde, And so clambring over the rockes, and wading through the water, we passed pell mell, with Swords, Shot, and Pikes upon the narrow Entrance. Whereupon those that were at the defence, after some little resistance, began to shrinke, and then seeing us to come faster on upon them, suddenly retiring, cast away their weapons, *Sir W. R. his resolution.* *They land.*

Flight of the enemy.

More active feete then hands.

turned their backes, and fled, and the like did the rest in the higher Trenches, and quickly recovered the hils, and the woods, being a people very swift, and nimble of foote; for we could take none of them, but such as after yeelded unto us. And as for their Auncients, we could not recover one, for the Horsemen that they had, carried them cleane away. And in this sort we gained both our landing, and our Enemies Trenches. In which attempt some few men were drowned, and slaine, divers hurt, and two long Boates bulged, and lost. And after that we saw all things cleare, we assembled our Troopes together, and refreshed ourselves, with such comfort, as we had there, which done, we sent backe our Boates for those Low Countrie Captaines afterward; who upon their arrivall congratulated our good successe, in taking so strong a peece of ground, fortified, and guarded with so many men. When these Captaines were come unto us, we then tooke our selves to be a prettie Armie, being then in strength to the number of foure hundred and sixtie well armed, and appointed: whereof there were of Captaines and Gentlemen of good sort thirty, or forty which gave great life to the businesse.

And having done so much already, we then thought it the best way to goe through with the matter, and to prepare the Towne in a readinesse for our Generall, and to make our selves Burgesses thereof in the meane season, and therefore our Reare Admirall appointed Captaine Bret to use the Office of Sergeant Major, and gave direction to the other Captaines to advance their Colours, and to call their Companies together, in a readinesse, and so putting our Troopes in order, we marched directly toward the Towne, where by the way, divers of these same very Spaniards, and Portugals, that a little before so braved us, came and rendred themselves in great humility, with white Napkins on the end of stickes, all whom, wee received, and well intreated, using some for Guides, and some for our Carriages,

Spaniards and Portugals yeeld themselves.

and others to fetch us in fresh Victuals, and Fruites. And it is worth the noting, to see the farre differing humors, upon the change of Fortunes, in these Spaniards, and Portugals. For where they conquer or command, no people are so proud, and insolent, and when they are once mastered, and subdued, no Nation of the world so base, or fuller of servile crouching, and observance, as though on a sodaine Nature had framed them in a new mould, so soone in an instant will they fall from soveraigntie to slavery. And surely (at home) they are in generall but a baggage people, timorous, and very unwarlike. As we have well experienced by severall invasions, whereof one Army was conducted by Sir John Norris, and Sir Francis Drake to Lisbona, and the other by the Earle of Essex, and the Lord Admirall Howard to Cadis, without any resistance, encounter in the field, or show of assayling our forces by battaile, all the while we staied there. But afterwards with a little hardening, and hartening in the Warres, wee see them prove very brave, and valiant Souldiers.

Spaniards and Portugall schollers of Fortune extreame in extremes.

And are not other Nations so? Usus promptos facit.

This Towne was some foure miles from this landing place, and all the Country in which wee marched very champion, with pretty little rising hils, and all the fields over full of Mellons, Potatoes, and other Fruites. Betweene us, and the Towne, was this high Fort, whereof I spake before, and that other Fort at the end of the Towne: By these two we were resolved to passe, the better thereby to discover and observe their strength, and situation: although there was another way that led to the Towne, some two miles further about, which we tooke not. But our resolution was the next morning to goe in hand with these Forts, which now we could not performe, the day being too far spent, and our men already overwearied with the last worke, together with a long march, and extreame hot weather, besides want of victuals. And therefore for that night we ment onely, either by faire or foule meanes to possesse our selves of the Towne, and there to lodge, and so to

[IV. x. 1955.]

content our selves, as having performed already, a sufficient daies worke. But in our march, as we approached neere the high Fort (by which of necessitie we were now to passe) they did very fiercely beate on us both with great and small shot, hurting divers, and killing some of our people. Amongst others I saw a very strange accident happen to Captaine William Morgan, by whom my selfe at that time stood, when from the Fort he received upon a round buckle of his girdle, just in the forepart, a Musket shot, that brused all his belly blacke, in a round spot, and battered the Bullet flat at his feete, but did him no other hurt. Hee was in his doublet and hose without any Armour, or Target, for the which a little before I found fault with him, and his answere to me was, that his flesh was of the Musket proofe, as indeede it after proved, with the helpe of a buckle of a Spanish girdle, and good fortune besides, which in the common opinion favoureth the valiant.

Strange accident of a shot.

Reare Admiral taxed.

In this approaching towards the Fort, our Reare Admiral accompanied with divers other Gentlemen of the best sort, to the number of forty, in the head of all the Troopes, with his leading staffe, and no other Armour then his Collar (a bravery in a chiefe Commander not to be commended) led on the Company with soft march, full in face of the Fort, descending downe a little hill, whilest with their great Ordnance, and Musketteir, we were very shrewdly pelted. But he, with this little Vauntguard was no sooner past, and entred under the covert of their trenches, and barricadoes, that were at the foote of this steepe hill, but the maine body of our little Armie, that a while marched in good order, began presently to breake their rankes, and from marching fell to flat running in stragling manner, so soone as ever they began to finde themselves within the mercy of the Musket shot, and so continued in this disorderly, and timorous course, untill they were upon our heeles, under the wals, and trenches, almost

Disorder.

as soone as we, that were in manner of a Vauntguard come some twelve score before them in a steady slow march. Our Reare Admirall, and we all cried out on them for this shamefull disorder, and taxed Captaine Bret, and Captaine Berry, with other of the Captaines for it, and of them demanded, if these were the men, that should have done us such stead in our landing, to save us from dishonour, or if this be the manner of their old Low Country Troopes, to shew such base cowardise, at the first sight of the Enemie, and for Musket shot so farre off from a Fort. The fault was not surely in these Captaines, for they were well knowne, and shewed themselves to be honest and resolute men, and did their best to stay this disorder. But their answere was this, that these companies, that did so beastlike behave themselves, were indeede men taken out of Flushing, and Brill, the Cautionary Towns, and raw Souldiers, that ever lived in a safe Garrison, & seldome or never had seene enemie, or incountered with shot in the field.. And therefore for these kinde of Low Countrie Souldiers, they said, we should never finde them, but as base and backward fellowes, as the other Regiments, that had followed the Campes were ready and valiant. And as it seemed to us then, and as since I have heard divers confirme, their answere was true, and grounded upon reason and Experience. And therefore it is not amisse to take good notice of such as onely serve to take pay, to walke rounds, and guard ports in Garrison Townes, for in the field they will most commonly be missing, or at least (if present) doe little hurt for conscience sake.

Difference twixt Campe and Garrison Souldiers.

We being thus come unto the foote of the high Fort, and under covert of the Trenches, and wals, which they had abandoned, retiring themselves into their fortifications, and strengths on the top of the Hill; our Reare Admirall commanded Captaine Bret to appoint a Sergeant or two, with some few shot, to goe prove and discover the way towards the Towne, and take

safe in hand with them one of our Portugall guides, for the more assurance, and for the better instructions for conducting the Troopes, because he was informed by the Guides, that the way in divers places lay very open, and dangerous to the shot of the high Fort, as well as to the Fort at the Townes end. And the worse, by reason of low wals made of loose stones, on either side of the wayes, which the great Artillery, and Musketeir would beate upon, and scatter amongst us, and so indeede afterwards in the march we found it true. Captaine Bret answered, that although it had pleased our Reare Admirall to appoint him to another Office, yet, if he would expresly command him, he would also survey this passage himselfe. But it was not thought fit at that time to want the Sergeant Major amongst such raw, and disorderly troopes; and therefore he was againe willed to appoint a Lieutenant, and a Sergeant or two, to goe about that businesse, in manner as was aforesaid. But upon this order so given, Captaine Bret made report, that hee found the Sergeants and Lieutenants very unwilling to undertake this discovery, making the passage very difficult, by reason that they saw them from the hill top, to beate so dangerously with their great Artillery upon us, and the loose wals, & also to ply us so fast with their Musketeir, the which they might better doe on that way. And therefore the Troopes were very desirous, to have passed by with some speede, and not in any orderly march, and strength, which indeede had bin a very foule, and also an hazardous course. For as we were credibly informed, the Island was able to make a thousand men furnished with weapons, and wee were perswaded (or at least to suspect) that they would gather the body of their most strength, for the defense of their best Towne, towards the which we were now marching.

[IV. x. 1956.] Our Reare Admirall seeing all men to make such scrupulositie of this businesse, when Captaine Bret had related unto him the backwardnesse of these Low Countrie

Garrison Souldiers, thereunto answered, that he would not offer that to any, which he would himselfe refuse to undertake, if neede required; although it were not the dutie and office of the chiefe Commander, to undergoe so ordinary a service, but a thing duely appertaining to the inferior Officers, & Souldiers: Notwithstanding (said he) though I could inforce others to doe it, they shall well perceive, that I my selfe will doe that which they dare not performe: whereof I am ashamed in their behalfe, and how our Generall, and we all are abused, in the opinion of these Low Countrie Souldiers. And therefore called for his Curates and Caske, and said, that he would both goe view the way for them, which they had made so nice of, and also the passages, and ascents unto the hill top, and as well as hee could take view of the strength, and fortifications thereof, for our better directions against the next morning that we should attempt it. Captaine Berrie thereupon very willingly offered himselfe to hoe, and did earnestly desire me to divert our Reare Admirall from undertaking it. And I thereupon did openly disswade him that commanded in chiefe, from putting his owne person to those inferiour Offices of hazard, fitter for a Lieutenant or a Sergeant, then himselfe to performe, knowing, that all the direction, as well of those troopes, as also of a whole Squadron of the Navie, did at that time onely rest upon him, in the absence of the Admirall, & Vice Admirall. Notwithstanding he was obstinate therein, as well in scorne to them that had refused, as also indeede out of a desire, to be the better informed of the strength, and fortification of the high Fort. Wherein when I saw him resolved, I told him that I would out of the love of a kinsman, in particular, and also out of an honest regard, take such part as he did, from whom I had received many kinde favours, and accompany him, but not out of any great desire I had to goe about a peece of worke, that consisted of much danger, and little honour in the performance. Hee thanked

Reare Admirals valour.

mee for mine offer, but yet wished me not to goe, if it were against my minde; notwithstanding I accompanied him, and so did some eight or ten more of our servants and followers. But I say truely, and so afterwards it was much spoken of, that there was not any one more of quality, that did accompany him in that businesse.

Dangerous discovery.

In this sort, and in this number did he himselfe goe to discover the passage, and also was carefull and diligent to observe and search out the strengths and ascents to the hill. In which doing, we were shrewdly troubled with the great Artillery, which did beat upon the old wals, alongst the which we were to passe, and therewithall much indangered and harmed us. For besides some that were hurt, two of our traine had their heads stricken cleane from their shoulders; my selfe was then shot through the left leg with a Musket bullet, but missed the boanes being but a flesh-wound, but the bullet did burne both my silke stocking and buskin, as if it had bin singed with an hot Iron. I was then hard by the Reare Admirall, who also was shot through the breeches & doublet sleeves in two or three places. And still they plied us so fast with small shot, as that (I well remember) he wished me to put of a large red scarfe, which I then wore, being (as hee said) a very faire marke for them. But I was not willing to do the Spaniards so much honor at that time, albeit I could have wished it had not bin on me, & therfore told the Reare Admirall again, that his white scarfe was as eminent as my red, and therefore I now would follow his example. But yet in my poore opinion I see no great honor, nor discretion in those nice ceremonies, but when men go to service, they may with reputation, either put on, or put off all habiliments, for their most advantage and securitie, and especially in going to discover, which best may be performed, when themselves are least discovered. And this puts me in minde of a report which I heard many yeeres since of Monsieur La Nove, that famous French Captain, and one Bussey

Scarfe-bravery perillous.

Discovery best left discovered.

de Amboys, a gallant French Gentleman. These two being with Monsieur the French Kings brother, some 24. yeers since, at the siege of Bines in the Low Countries, were to informe themselves of a flanker, or some Ravelin that was to be beaten with Artillery. La Nove was the Marshall of Monsieurs Campe, and Bussye his great favourite, & Lieutenant Generall (as I take it) Bussey would needes before Monsieur in a bravery, invite La Nove to undertake with him the discovery of that place, which La Nové out of his better judgment, and experience in the Warres, thought not so fit a peece of service for their places, but rather to be preferred to some private Captaines of valour, and judgement, that would very covertly goe about it. But such was Busseyes forward heate, and jollitie to the businesse, as that La Nove, who was inferiour to none in true valour, disdained to refuse that, which the other still urged, and made so light of. And being stirred by Busseyes daring bravery, he fell to the businesse, and led Bussey such a dance in his hose and doubled unarmed to the discovery, and so slily carried him on still with a sober discourse, further and further into the very mouth of the Cannon and Musket shot, with a soft steady pace, as that Bussey began to finde and dislike their entertainment, seeing the imminent danger that they still ranne into. And thereupon suddenly asked La Nove, what he meant so farre openly to ingage himselfe, and on so slow a pace: whereto La Nove answered, that hee did so, to make Bussey know, that La Nove had a heart as well to execute, as a tongue to give counsell when neede required. But at last, they both falling into the true reckoning of their follies; the one, for urging a valiant old Souldier, and the other for assenting to the vaine glorious humour of youthly inconsiderate courage, came off very quietly both together, having had their fils of discovering. And yet these Simullates (as the Latines name them) have ever in all ages raigned. Cæsar in his Commentaries

[IV. x. 1957.] makes an especiall observation of two of his Captaines for the like: The one was called Titus Pulfio, and the other Lucius Varenus, and it happened in his Warres of France, in the wintering Campe of Quintus Cicero, one of his Lieutenants being furiously assaulted by the Gauls, but most resolutely defended. The manner hee describeth excellently, and large, in his Commentaries, to which I referre you.

And now to our purpose, by this time, we had reasonably to our satisfaction, made a sufficient discovery, both of the way for our Troopes to passe, and also of the ascents to the high Fort on the Mountaine. And then there came unto us Captaine Berry, and one Master Henry Allen, and others; who finding me hurt, very kindely bemoned my harme, and I in requitall of their curtesie, as much lamented the want of all their good companies at that banquet; upon the comming of these unto us, we sent backe two of our men to Captain Bret (Sergeant Major for that time) to be his Guides, and to will him presently to march on with his Troopes towards the Towne after us, and that we would stay for them, because we then looked to be fought withall, or at the least, to have some little sally, or bickering out of the Fort at the Towns end, which we must needes passe by, before we could come to the Town. This was a very fine fortification all of stone worke, with curtaine, flankers, and ditch, very artificially cast: but presently upon our approach they abandoned it, and in our passing by we entred into it, and found that they had newly forsaken the place. The like did they afterwards from the Towne, and were all fled up into the Countrie, and into the Mountaines, saving those two hundred that were garrisoned in the high Fort. The Towne was emptied, and left very bare of all things, but of such wares as could not suddenly be removed: which was Wine, Salt, and Corne, whereof they left a little store for our refreshing. The rest of our Troopes by this time were now

Fortification forsaken.

Towne abandoned.

come on very neere to the Towne, but there were some five and twentie of them shot, and some seven or eight slaine in the passage.

They enter the Towne. And in this manner we did afterwards enter the Town very peaceably; which was a pleasant place, built all of Stone, and covered with Tile; and full of fine Gardens, Orchards, and Wels of delicate waters, with faire Streets, and one very faire Church, and also a Nunnery, and a Fryerie. It is in bignesse about the proportion of Plymouth, or Yarmouth, but seated much like Dover Town. This Island is of late yeeres become very watchfull, and the people more growne to the use of fit armes, and have for their defence erected this new fortification, on the high hill, with a Garrison of two hundred Spaniards in it. For not long before, it had bin very gallantly surprised, and (as I thinke) sacked, and ransomed, by the right Honorable George Clifford Earle of Comberland (a noble Gentleman) that had often exposed both his purse, and his person, to his great honour and experience in those Seafaring Adventures. And presently upon our entrance we made Barricadoes, placed good Guards in divers parts, and a strong Corps de Guard in the Market place. For the Town being unwalled, we were to suspect, that if we lay there open, and carelesly refreshing our selves, and our souldiers scattered abroad in seeking for victuals, we might easily be surprised without good order, and directions given, before we fell to our repast, or rest. But this order being first performed, then were others at better liberty to search safely for bootie. Therefore Proclamation was made, that upon paine of death none should straggle twenty score without the Towne, and that not without the knowledge and leave of an Officer, and then to goe upon their guard with fit weapon, and company. Having now refreshed and reposed our selves all night without any trouble, more then two false alarmes, that were given upon the sight of divers of the inhabitants that approached towards the Towne,

Towne described.

Earle of Cumberland. See sup. l. 6. c. 1.

Their order for safety and booty.

to view the manner of our dealings with their buildings (which proved nothing, but mistrust of the worst) for which, all things were well provided to withstand the enemy, the next morning being the 22. of September, even with the day breake, we might see our Generall with his Fleete at hand, bearing in with all sailes towards the Roade of Fayall, who all this while had bin beating up and down the Seas, looking about for the Adelantado, and other Adventures. Upon his arrivall, our intent for attempting the high Fort was frustrated, and all our proceedings in Fayall were by Sir Guillie Merricke at large related, unto our Generall, and so aggravated, and wrested into an evill sense, by him, Sir Christopher Blunt, Sir Anthony Sherly, and others, by putting my Lord in the head, that these parts were plaied by the Reare Admirall onely to steale honor, & reputation from him, and to set his owne forwardnesse to the view of the world; which intimation of theirs, was an exception that they know our Generall was very apt of his owne disposition to take hold of, being a man that did affect nothing in the world so much as Fame, and to be reputed matchlesse for magnanimitie, and undertaking, and could hardly indure any that should obscure his glory in that kinde, though otherwise he favoured them never so much. And that this is true, those that understand his humour best, cannot justly deny. The which (I protest) I doe not speake, either out of any neglect of one that is dead, or to picke a thanke of any that lives, but simply out of a resolution to write an unpartiall truth, or else to be silent. For those spirits that base flattery, or servile feare doth transport in fashioning their Histories, are of all others to be reputed the unworthiest, and most pernicious in a well-pollicied Common wealth. For wee see that those Heathens, which have written the stories of Cyrus Pyrrhus, Alexander, Haniball, Scipio, Cæsar, and of all other those great Kings, & renouned Heroes, do as well taxe them for their vices, as glorifie them for

The Generals comming.

Sir Guilly Mericks uncharitable officiousnesse.

Earle of Essex his ambition of honour.

their vertues: For, who lives without fault? And so sincerly & boldly do they follow the truth in their writings, as that they are thereby freed from malice, [IV. x. 1958.] or revenge, because they are free from all partialitie; or if any spleen arise, yet it is secret; for the prosecution of such sinceritie, is reputed meere impietie in all sorts, and flat Tyrannie in Princes. And to conclude, this impotent humor of induring rivality, and other mens praises, is very incident to men in high places, especially if they be of great courage, or tickled with Ambition.

It was besides alleadged, that the presumption and scorne, to land such Forces without his Lordships leave, was not to be passed over without severe punishment, and a Marshall Court fit to be called, to censure the offence and breach of order, and discipline, with many other as bitter arguments, and devises, as their wits could compasse, to aggravate the Generals wrath against all that were in this Action, and especially the Reare Admirall. Against whom, they spared not so farre to inveigh, as that they gave it out, that he was well worthy to loose his head for his labour. And so had they inveighed the Generall against us all, as that all the forenoone was spent in reprehending and displacing all the Land Captaines, and Officers that accompanied the Reare Admirall in that Action, who being sent for to answere before the Generall aboord his ship, was before the Messenger came for him, gone in his Barge to see the Generall, and to guide him to the Land, not so much as suspecting that any thing had bin ill taken for that matter, but rather looking for great thankes at the Generall his hands. But so soone as he entred the Generals ship, he found all mens countenances estranged, as he passed through them. And when he was entred into the Generals cabbin, after a faint welcome, the Generall began to challenge him of breach of order and Articles: To whom the Reare Admirall answered, that he knew not of any such breach: my Lord replied, that there was an article

Sir Walter Raleigh commeth aboord the Generall.

Accusation.

that none should land any of the Troopes without the Generals presence, or his order. The Reare Admirall desired the Generall to give him leave to defend himselfe by those Lawes, which himselfe as well as others had devised, and his Lordship with the Counsell of warre had authorised, and that then his Lordship should finde, that he had not committed any Errour at all.

His answere. For (saith he) there is an Article, that no Captaine of any ship, nor Captaine of any Company, if he be severed from the Fleete, shall land any where without direction, from the Generall, or some other principall Commander, upon paine of death, &c. But I take my selfe (said he) to be a principall Commander, under your Lordship, and therefore not subject to that Article, nor under the power of the law Marshall, because a successive commander of the whole Fleete in her Majesties Letters Patents, your Lordship, and my Lord Thomas Howard failing. And besides your Lordship agreed that I should land at this Island, with your Lordship, whom I have attended these foure dayes, and finding that your Lordship came not, being in your way thitherwards halfe a dozen leagues before I waied anchor, I could not but thinke, that you thought me strong inough to take this Island, and that your Lordship was gone, with some of the rest to some of the other Islands. And staied so long from landing, at Sir Guillie Merrickes intreatie, as I heard mine owne company, even at my backe, murmur, and say, that I durst not adventure it. And to tell your Lordship a plaine truth, my intent at first was onely to water, untill I saw them follow me in that braving manner, which with our reputations wee could not then shun, and give over, being already in our Boates for that purpose. For if I had intended the taking of the Towne, I would never have retired so farre off from our first Roade, that lay right before it.

This dispute held some halfe houre, and then the Generall went ashoare, and rested himselfe in the Reare Admirals lodging, being well enough satisfied at that

time. In so much as the Reare Admirall desired my Lord to sup there, and that if his Lordship ment to call the matter further in question, he would claime no priviledge nor favour thereby, but answer it in the morning. To which Sir Christopher Blunt (taking my Lords answere from him) said, that he thought my Lord would not sup at all. But the Reare Admirall finding Sir Christopher Blunts disposition, told him, that when he invited him he might disable his owne appetite, but if my Lord pleased to stay, he would be very glad of his presence. In this meane while my Lord Thomas Howard very nobly, and kindely taking care, that no wrong, nor disgrace might be offered to the Reare Admirall by any devise, or practise of his Enemies, dealt with the Generall to finde how hee stood resolved, and the next morning assured the Reare Admiral, that my Lord sought nothing but a due acknowledgement of an offence, alleadging that the rest would thinke him a very weake and tame Commander, if he should receive no manner of satisfaction. The Reare Admirall hoping that hee had done nothing unjustifiable, and well assured, that he was successively in the Commission, for the whole commandement of the Fleete (and therefore not subject to any corporal danger) as also because he assured himselfe of the Vice Admirall his honorable love, and sincere dealing, came againe in the morning to visite the Generall. Otherwise (remembring the little trust that men ought to repose in reconciled enemies, and the strong malice borne him by others in greatest favour with my Lord) had ment to have put himselfe into his owne Squadron, and so to have defended himselfe, or left my Lord. But my Lord Thomas Howard, perswading him to goe, and satisfie the Generall (upon whose word onely he made that adventure) after he had given him his honour, with great kindnesse, and resolution, that he would make himselfe a party, if any wrong or violence were offered, contrary to the Generals promise unto him;

Lord T. Howard (now Earle of Suffolke) his Christian and friendly mediation.

he did as the Vice Admirall advised him. And so all things after a little dispute came to a quiet end and conclusion.

The Generall pacified.

And within a day or two after, the Generall accompanied with the Vice Admirall, and other Lords, and Commanders dined aboord our ship, where he was exceedingly intertained, and contented. Onely this I omitted that when the Generall committed Captaine Bret, Berry, and Sydney, The Reare Admirall desired that those Gentlemen might receive no hard measure in his cause, for whatsoever his Lordship doth conceive to have bin misdone, hee must take it wholly on himselfe to answere, being at that time the Chiefe and Commander. This I have set downe in manner as I heard it then from men of good sort, not being present thereat my selfe, nor at that time able to waite on the Generall, by reason of the shot through my legge, which I had received but the day before, in this thanklesse service.

[IV. x. 1959.]

Thus was the whole day spent in reprehending and disciplining us for our paines. And yet notwithstanding, these aggravators, and chiefe Instigators of our Generall, vouchsafed to take the benefit of our reproved Travailes, in lodging, and refreshing themselves in this good Towne, both this night and three or foure dayes after. But in the same day that our Generall arived, about one of the clocke after midnight, all the Portugals, and Spaniards in the high Fort, with their bagge and baggage, abandoned the place, leaving behinde them six peeces of great Artillery mounted. For when they saw the whole Fleete together, and so many gallant Troopes land with our Generall, their hearts fainted, and so they fled into the Countrie, and woddy Mountaines adjoining. Then in the morning when it was too late (although as yet wee knew not so much) direction was given to certaine troopes, and companies, to guard all the foot of the high Fort, to stop, and stay them from stealing from thence, that were already gone, for it was given

High Fort abandoned.

out, that if they did not presently surrender it, the place should be assailed.

But when newes was brought that they had abandoned the Fort, and carried all away, then was there much descanting of the foule oversight, so to suffer the Birds to escape out of the Cage, that might have bin so surely kept, if we had not bestowed more labour in disciplining and correcting our owne pretended faults for landing, then discretion or diligence in prosecuting the Enemy, whom we had at an advantage. For presently upon their arrivall, they did nothing but examine and discipline our offence. Whereas if they had gone in hand with the Fort, and cast a carefull eye thereunto, we had not lost the ransoming of so many Spanish prisoners, nor the benefit of the spoyle which they had carried out of the Towne, for safty to that place. And at this grosse errour there was much muttering. But now divers of the land officers (to colour and excuse their owne default) laid this blame also on us, alleadging that we should have left a good guard upon the Fort, if we had done like men of warre, upon our first landing, and then all had bin sure. And although this excuse passed at first for some paiment, for the common and more ignorant sort, yet all men of judgement could easily perceive, how impossible a matter it was for us out of foure hundred and sixtie to spare so many, as should sufficiently guard two hundred souldiers, from sallying out of such a Fort, and yet proceede with the recovering of the other Fort, and Towne that was before us. For the defence of both which, the Island was able and had in readinesse (as our spies and guides assured us) above one thousand able men well furnished, upon whom we were to have a vigilant eye, and to keepe a convenient strength after we had once possessed the Towne. But after the Generall was come, this might easily have bin performed, or if he had not come, they had not fled so suddainly, and the same morning, wee our selves had attempted the Fort, and made no doubt to carry it. But then with

Envie spieth more in pretended, then in professed enemies, and is alway worst to it selfe, though bad to all.

the presence of our Generall, upon his arrivall, all our determinations, and authorities were concluded.

Afterwards when our men entred this Fort, which the Spaniards had abandoned, there they found divers peeces of Artillery, and an English Gentleman whose name was Hart, and a Flemming with both their throates cut. Then were there certaine companies sent abroad the Country, to trace those Spaniards and Portugals, and to make waste of all that lay in their way. But of the Garrison they could never recover one man. Now after three or foure dayes the anger and dislikes of our Generall towards us, were well pacified, and upon further consideration and conference with the Reare Admirall of his doings, hee grew againe into very kinde tearmes with him, and at his suite released and restored all the disgraced Captaines that landed, and were in this service, and so having taken all the benefit, and refreshing of this Towne, and Island that we could come by, our time being so short, on the foureteenth of September we were all commanded to goe aboord. And so for a farewell, and for the funerals of our lost men, and those two that were so dispitefully murthered in the high Fort, the Towne was bravely set on fire, and all the Ordnance of the Towne, and Forts brought away with us. And I am perswaded that if the warres had not bin by chance so begun before by us, upon that Island by their owne seeking, and foolish bravery, and afterwards aggravated by their cruelty in murthering so despitefully two of our company in the high Fort, Fayall had escaped as scotfree as did Cuervo, Flores, Gratiosa, Saint Michaels, or any of the other. For surely they were all at our mercy, the Fort of Tercera onely excepted. But in all these Actions I observed, and well saw, that our Generall in his true disposition, affected rather to be renowned for bounty, clemency, and valour, then for the glory of a dreadfull Conquerour. All this while the Flemmings were playing their parts in the Isle of Pike, which was about a league from Fayall; where I leave them ran-

Hart and another left with throates cut.

Towne fired.

Reward of cruelty is cruelty.

sacking the Wines, and burning all that was within their power.

The six and twentieth of September we made towards Gratiosa, where wee cast ancor, and presently whilest we roade before it, there came aboord our Generall, the chiefe men of the Island submitting themselves, and craving mercy of our Generall, alleadging (as they of Flores had done) that the inhabitants thereof were Portugals, and friends, and naturall Enemies to the Spaniards, though they wanted meanes and force to show it, being held under them by strong hand. To this Island our Generall shewed his accustomed mercy, and required of them some provisions of Wine, Fruites, and fresh victuals, for the relieving of the Fleete; but of any other composition we heard not, although it was supposed they did, or might have yeelded a better ransome: but this was very willingly sent by the inhabitants unto us. Here some of the Commanders went aboord the Generall, and besought him to goe aland, and somewhat better to survey this Island, and for one day to let his Fleete ancor in that Roade, which his Lordship shewed great willingnesse unto. But the Master of the Generals Ship, whose name was Grove (a dull and unluckie fellow) was utterly against that counsell, and alleadged that the yeere was farre spent, and the place of anchoring there not good for the ground tackle, protesting that it would be dangerous for the whole Fleete, and put it in hazard, and therefore very earnestly perswaded and urged the leaving of that Roade; which advise of his, our Generall then followed, to our great losse, and hinderance, as afterwards it fell out. But Grove the Master must pardon mee to say in mine opinion, that it was an undiscreete advise, so to divert our Fleete in such haste from that Island, considering the long aboade he made afterwards before Saint Michaels, and at Villa Franca, to lesse purpose in as ill Roades as this, and later in the yeere. Hereupon wee wayed, leaving Gratiosa upon Saint Michaels Eve, and made for Saint Michaels Island,

[IV. x. 1960.]

Graciosa submitteth it selfe.

Grove taxed.

Saint Michael.

and on Saint Michaels day, early in the morning, we made that land, and bare in with the shoare. And as wee came very neere unto it, two of the Sterne-most Ships of our Fleete, shot off twice or thrice, and bare up with all sailes they could packe on, towards the Admirals ship.

Newes of the Indian Fleet. These brought newes of the Indian Fleete then by them discovered, comming directly from the Roade of Gratiosa, that the Generall had so unwillingly left but the Evening before, by the unluckie advice of Grove the Master of his ship. Upon the Intelligence given by these two ships, our Admirall shot off a peece, and presently cast about, and therewithall, wee in the other ships perceived casting up of Hats, and great shootes aboord the Admirall, for joy of this newes. And the like afterwards was done in the Vice-Admirals ship, and so passed throughout all the Fleete. Within some few

Three Spanish ships taken. houres after, we incountered, and tooke three Spanish ships, comming from the Havana, the greatest of them being about foure hundred tunnes, and esteemed to be a very rich ship, as well for the lading, as for the passengers that were in her. To this Spaniard, our ship called the Wastspight being neerest, gave Chase, and caused her to stricke, and yeelde: but yet my Lord Generall hasting after, would suffer none but his owne Boate to goe aboord her, being full of good prisoners, and pillage besides her lading, which was Cochynella, and other such rich Wares. This ship, and the other two that were in her company, being very good prises also, made to the Generall a relation of forty sailes of Indian men, whereof some eight were fraughted with the Kings Treasure, that did dissenbarge with them from the Havana, bound for Spaine. And as we after heard, the Garland, the Rainebow, the Dreadnaught, the Marigold, and others, fell amongst sixteene saile of the richest of this Indian Fleete, whereof they foundred one, and whilest they were busie in seeking to take the spoile of her (as it was credibly reported) all the rest did escape,

and recover Tercera. But of this I speake as the generall voice went, and not upon other assurance, for they were then separated from us, and the rest of the Fleete; And therefore I must adde this conclusion, to desire that I may of the understanding sort be pardoned, if in these relations I cannot truely, nor at large write the accidents, and courses of all their ships in particular, being no eye witnesse thereof, nor possibly could so be. For to doe that in a land army, or in a battaile is very hard, and much more in a Sea Voyage consisting of so many ships sometimes separated.

Upon intelligence of this escaping, and passing by so unluckily of these Indian Ships, we were all much perplexed. For by that chance, and by our unfortunate hast from Gratiosa, but the very night before, wee saw that Even, the wrath of destiny denied to make us so happy, as to bee masters of so great a fortune, as then had fallen into our laps, if wee had not still followed all those counsells that fell out to the worst. Notwithstanding, with all the speed wee could make, we instantly followed after them to Tercera, where they were entred some sixe houres before us, and had moored their Ships fast under the Towne and Fort, being one of the strongest pieres of all Europe. There wee might aloofe behold them safe within the Road; which was a great Inlet invironed with a high Land, in manner of Peninsula; so as the Shippes lay under the command of two strong Fortifications, a place neither fit nor possible for our Ships to follow them, except we had meant, that they should have there stuck fast for comming out againe. Now was there a generall counsell called aboord the Admirall, what course to take heerein, and many great adventures proposed and offered to bee attempted, by some Coronels and Captaines, with Boates and Pinnaces for the landing of men, to force those places, but all in vaine, and altogether unseasonable. For whereas they, with one thousand five hundred men, offered to take both the Iland and Forts, some others of the chiefest

Indian Fleete pursued to Tercera.

The Peere described.

A Counsell.

85481

Sea-Commanders (in their judgements, well knowing the great difficultie to Land men, and Munitions on so disadvantagious a place, and in so evill a season of the yeere; besides the great strength of the Fortifications, so [IV. ix. well furnished at that time by this new arrivall) were 1961.] utterly against it, as a matter frivolous, and of more apparent danger to our selves, then to the Enemy, and for it yeelded sundry reasons. All which these Coronels seemed to account light of, and would needs in great bravery, still urge the undertaking of it, if they might have but the proportion of one thousand five hundred men, before spoken of; which the General himselfe seemed greatly to allow, and insist upon, and therefore of necessitie to be yeelded unto by the inferiour Commanders.

But our Vice-Admirall, the Lord Thomas Howard, finding indeed the marke whereat some of our great Captaines shot, to wit, that it would have served their turnes to have vaunted, that if the Vice-Admirall, and Reare-Admirall had beene willing to this enterprise, and not crossed it by counter counsells, the Spanish Fleet and Treasure (by mastering the Ilands of Tercera) might have been recovered, his Lordship resolved either to tie them to their pretended resolutions, or to make them see, that they could not serve themselves of him, by any such finenesse & pretence. And therfore told the general plainly, that if indeed he would so willingly have it attempted, himselfe, and the Reare-Admirall for their parts would be forward and readie to adventure as farre as any others. And moreover, the better to inable the action, said, that they would undertake to find him three thousand strong and able men, to spare out of the Fleet, and yet leave the Navie sufficiently manned. And therefore (said they) if your Lordship see no other reasons to let or hinder this offered attempt, there shal be no want of so many men as we speake of, which is double the number that was demanded. But upon this constant offer, the matter

was againe debated, and grew somewhat colder, being better digested. So as in conclusion it was deemed inconvenient, and impossible to be effected, as our Forces and helpes, and theirs at that time stood, and the time of the yeere so farre spent, and the winds, and the Seas growne so tempestuous for landing in Boats. But if this offer had not bin made, then, the relinquishing of these glorious motions, and attempts, had bin laid upon the backwardnesse and disswasions of the Sea-men, which was well enough perceived, and therefore accordingly answered.

Digression touching rash onsets and bravados. Sir R. Greenvill his story you have before, which perhaps may somwhat better excuse him.

These unseasonable offers, and Bravadoes, puts me in mind of the like inconsiderate unfortunate action of Sir R. Greenfield in the Revenge, who being Vice-Admirall to the same Lord Thomas Howard Admirall in a journey to these Ilands in certaine of the Queenes Ships, they fortuned to meet with a great Fleet of the King of Spaines, neere to the Ile of Flores, consisting of so many huge and mighty Gallions, as was no way fit for them to undertake, being in number and force three times as strong as ours was. And therefore fitter to be warily dealt withall, then rashly adventured upon. Wherefore the Admirall (out of the due consideration and judgement of the office, and place hee held, as also for that at his returne home, hee was to give a strict account of the charge committed unto him) thought it fit to keepe still aloofe, and in the weather of this powerfull Navie, and so to fight with them at his best advantage, off, and on, as occasion served, or else to free himselfe from them if need required: For his Ships being more nimble, yare, and swift, then the Spaniards, it had bin a grosse errour to have thrust himselfe wilfully in amongst them and so to give them the advantage of boording, being high and mighty built Ships, throughly manned and full of shot, and the manner of fight, by boording most advantageous for those huge Gallions. Besides being, as they were all men of Warre, and thrice as many as the English, and

no other benefit to bee got by boording them, but blowes, and the hazard of battaile, which is uncertaine victory; it behooved him advisedly to carry himselfe, and rather to follow the heedy steps of a Fabius Maximus, then the headie fury of a Terentius Varro. But his Vice-Admirall, being indeed a man very wilfull, and violent in his courses, could in no wise be perswaded to follow his Admirall, and his consorts. But thrusting himselfe rashly in amongst the Spaniards, those mighty Vessels being a Sea-boord, and some of them getting into the weather of him, so becalmed all his sayles, as that hee could not use the benefit of working upon a wind to his best advantage, nor free himselfe of them when hee would, but was clapt aboord by two or three of them; where to redeeme his errour, seeing hee had brought himselfe so undiscreetly into a desperate worke, he very resolutely fought, and made long resistance, to the great annoyance and losse of the Assaylants. But in the end, being shaken and beaten to fitters with their great Ordnance, and oppressed with the multitude of them, comming in fresh upon him, was by mayne force mastered, and yet disdaining to yeeld, for that hee had received his deaths wound in the fight, sought by all meanes to have blowne up his Ship, by setting fire on his owne Powder roome, and therewithall to have destroyed as many of the Spaniards as lay aboord him; but by the care of his Captaine (whose name was Laughorne) was withstood and prevented. A right antient Roman resolution, but somewhat too much varying from the true Christian Religion; to draw a violent and sudden death on so many soules, for the better gracing of his particular errour. And in this sort by his owne wilfulnesse, brought he one of the Royall Navie, into the power and possession of the Spaniards, which during all the Warres, never before nor after they could obtaine. And a faire grace of God it was, that his fond example had not inticed more of them,

Roman examples.

Revenge, the only Ship of the Navy Royall, possessed by the Spaniards and dearly bought.

at the same time to the like folly and ruine. Now the best that hee could hope for, was after the exchanging of some great shot with them, to have come of againe if hee could. A bravery to small purpose, for to subdue them, was not in the power of all the English, if they had beene as many more in all likelihood and reason. Upon which grounds wise Commanders ought to build their resolutions, before they put themselves to the hazard of battaile. Besides, in truth it was a very insolent and disorderly part, for a Vice-Admirall, being a man of his yeeres and experience, so wilfully without [IV. x. cause, against all discretion to vary from his Admiralls 1962.] course, and from the opinion of all his Consorts, onely to bid himselfe voluntarily to so foolish and bitter a banquet, wherein hee could be but lost. And hard would it be for Generalls, and Chiefe Commanders to fulfill their Instructions, or satisfie that which is expected at their hands, if they should be drawne on, or ingage themselves, by the vaine example of every one that is carryed with a headdy humour, to follow his owne wilfull conceit. For so was that noble Paulus Æmilius, and the Roman Armie with him lost, at the Battaile of Cannas, in being constrained to second the foolish bravery of Varro, his rash Colleague. And in the like unadvised desperate sort, did that valiant Duke of *Rich. D. of Yorke.* Yorke, Richard Plantagenet, Father to Edward the Fourth, wilfully cast away himselfe, when with five thousand men onely, contrary to the perswasions and counsell of all his friends, out of the pride of his bravery, hee would needs sally out of his Castle of Sandall, and give battaile to the Queenes Army, that was twenty thousand strong: whereby his weake forces were quickely defeated, at Wakefield, and himselfe slaine, with his young sonne the Earle of Rutland. It is said to bee the dutie of a great Captaine, to seeke victory with as little losse to himselfe, as may bee, and more military discipline shewed in making a faire and safe retrait, then in giving a furious and desperate charge. The

experience whereof was well seene, in that gallant
Sir Jo. Norris. Souldier Sir John Norris, who wan as much Honour and Fame, by that brave, and well ordered retrait which hee made before Gaunt, as in any one piece of service that ever hee did. We had also fresh in our memories, a Sea experiment of the very like tragicall successe of Sir Richard Greenfield, in the like rash
Peter Strosse. attempt of Peter de Strosse, Admiral of a French Fleet, against a mightie Spanish Navy, commanded by the Marquesse of Sancta Cruce, at these Ilands. Where this Strosse out of a wilfull bravery, contrary to the better advice of all his Captaines, and Masters, having alreadie landed many brave troupes of Frenchmen, in the Ilands, as assistant to Don Anthonio, named King of Portugall, upon the first view would needes lay the Marquesse and the Spanish Fleet aboord, being compassed of mightie huge Gallions, and the French but slender nimble Ships. By which unequall match, and foolish daring, he was beaten downe right, all his Navie destroyed (saving the Count Brysack, and a few others of better judgement, that would not follow his vaine course) and himselfe being taken prisoner, was alive most despitefully torne, and drawne asunder with two Ships. Thus lost he himselfe, and his honour, brought many gallant Gentle-
Terribly executed. men and Souldiers to a butcherly execution, and utterly thrust Don Anthonio from the possession of the Iles of Asores, and confounded all those brave French troupes, which a little before he had placed in them. But in another manner, and with better successe were our affaires
Example of 88. governed, in the yeere 88. when that mightie Fleet of Spaine, which they termed invincible, came to invade us. For then I remember, amongst other good discipline, and instructions for the Sea fight; it was straitly ordained, that none of our Ships should voluntarily (if they could by any meanes avoid it) lay any Spaniards aboord, but alwayes to fight with them upon advantage, and indeavour by all meanes to keepe into the weather of them, and so leave or take as occasion served, they

comming to invade, and our end only to keep them from landing. The which direction was so well observed, as that this invincible Fleet, for all their force and powerfull appearance, proved at last invisible, left many of their Ancors and good Ships behind them, got not, nor sunke any one of ours: but being sore gauled and beaten, with this manner of fight, and greatly affrighted with fire, and such like stratagems, were at last glad to packe away, as fast as they could out at the backe doore. I meane by the North Seas, round about Scotland, and Ireland: wherein they found a miserable and tedious flight, never having gotten so much as a dish of our fresh water, nor ever landed one man (except prisoners) upon our Coast. Now, if our Admirall, the Lord Charles Howard had beene a wilfull Commander, standing upon those vaine glorious termes of boording and assaulting the enemy, and not have proceeded by counsell and policie temperately, then had he done that which the Spaniards expected and desired, their Ships being fit for the purpose, and comming to boording and handy fight, might very well have distressed us, and so have hazarded both the Navie, and the Kingdome together. But this noble Lord, as hee was very fortunate and judicious in Sea service, so hee truely and wisely considered, how great a weight and charge lay on his judgement and trust, and therefore did accordingly, with great wisdome and temper marshall his affaires, to the overthrow of his Enemies, to the perpetuall honour of his name, and the victorious serving of his Prince and Countrey. This therefore may stand for a Maxime and Caveat, to all great and wise Commanders, that to whom a King or State commits the trust and direction of an Army: It bridles him in the free use of his owne courage, or from expressing (upon every temptation) his particular valour. For that forward humour of daring, is to be used in younger yeeres, before they arrive to these places of dignitie or command; and then ever after, counsell should command their courage,

Invinsible fleet invisible.

L. Admirall commended.

alwayes wrapping their heads in the Furre of the Foxe, and their Armes seldome in the Lyons skin, setting aside all respects of braving or vaine glory, as did that Fabius Cunctator, of whom Ennius in praise saith; Non ponebat enim rumores ante salutem.

And these presidents I have here taken occasion to record, thereby onely to show what inconveniences and detriments doe follow such unbridled heat, and headdy humours, and to the contrary, what benefit and advantage is gained in the true use of timely and temperate proceedings. For surely, if these desperate offers, made by the Land Souldiers, instigating our forward Generall to the taking of the Tercera, had beene then put in execution, the end had beene, that many a valiant man had there left his bones, and the rest returned home with the scorne of a disgraced attempt. Besides, if the Adelantado with the Spanish Navie had then chanced to have come on our backes, whilest our best men were ashoare ingaged about this desperate and unfeasable enterprise, it might have turned to the destruction of [IV. x. 1963.] the whole Fleet, or at the least to the assured losse of as many as were landed about that businesse. But (thankes be to God) good counsell prevailed, and prevented those hazards.

After that this dispute was so calmely concluded; our Generall himselfe, and the Lord Mountjoy in the Defiance, and two or three other tall Ships, bare in as close along the shoare as they could, exchanging upon pleasure, some fifteene or twentie great shot with them, to very little purpose, and so left the Ile of Tercera, a place very stronge both by Nature and Art, and at that time well stored with Men, Munition, and Treasure; by reason of the late arrivall of those Indian Ships. From thence wee returned againe to the Ile of Saint Michaells, which before on Michaelmasse day wee made, and left then upon this Intelligence. And now as soone as we were entred into the Road, that lies before Saint Michaells Towne, wee let fall our Ancors,

They arrive at S. Michaels the second time.

and there, the Generall accompanied with divers of our chiefe Officers, comming aboord our Reare-Admirall, hung out a Flag of Counsell, where it was consulted about landing, and the taking of this good Town, which lay so gloriously before our eies, promising many rich rewards to the Victors: In the which there was a slight Fort towards the Sea side, but the Towne unwalled. The Generall appointed that all Companies should bee made ready to land forthwith. But our Reare-Admirall desired his Lordship; that hee would first permit him to view the place, and to find out where the Army might best make a descent, because the Billowes about those Ilands doe sometimes so roule from the Sea, as might easily overturne the best Boates we had, as wee found by experience at Fayall, where wee had two long Boats overturned in landing, and Master Thomas Rugway also throwne with a Sea on the Rockes in his Boat. Our Generall at first, yeelded to the Reare-Admiralls request, for viewing a fit place. But as hee was putting off, and scarce gone from the Ships side twentie paces, my Lord, standing in the Gallery with Sir Christopher Blont, called him backe againe in great hast, and said that he would goe himselfe, and view it. Whereupon the Reare-Admirall returned againe, as my Lord commanded; and as his Lordship went out of the Ship into his Barge unarmed altogether, but with his Coller and Sword, and without either Shot or Pike to wayte on him, the Reare-Admirall called aloud unto him, and desired his Lordship to take his Caske, and Target proofe with him, if hee purposed to goe neere the shoare, seeing there lay so many Muskets on the rest, there to receive him. Whereunto my Lord answered, That hee would none, because hee disdained to take any advantage of the Watermen that rowed him.

Hollow Sea.

Boldnesse by some esteemed fortitude.

But (in my opinion) though that answere much shewed his valour, yet became it not the place that my Lord held, for in truth a Generall ought not to bee so

adventurous, and carelesse of himselfe upon every slight occasion, nor to goe unarmed to places of imminent perill. Homer describes the valiant Heroes, and bravest Leaders of the Greekes to be best armed: As Achilles, an excellent Armour framed by Vulcan, at the request of Thetis his mother, and Ajax with his sevenfold shield. Insomuch as their very armes are famous even to these dayes, the use whereof now wee make scornefull. But they are no beaten Souldiers in the warres, that hold these opinions: for it is truly said, that a great and wise Generall should dye old. And I have read that famous Epaminondas, was fined by his Countrymen the Thebanes, for being too forward, and serving in a battaile ill armed, although he wan the victory. But to our matter: After that these landing places were viewed a farre off, and were not well liked, nor yet so neerely approached at that time, as within Culverin Shot (for there lay all alongst the shoare above foure hundred Shot upon the rest, intrenched to beate on our Boats;) in conclusion, after many offers and surveies made aloofe, the conveniences of that place, for landing was excepted against. Albeit in truth it was a faire and sandy beach (as all the Fleet might well perceive) and some foure or five miles from the Towne, and Fort, and much more easie then that of Fayall, where wee before wan our landing. And that this is most true, many that were present (now living) and saw both, can justly affirme.

And although our Generall himselfe, was very resolute and apt to undertake any good occasion of service, yet hee was then so led and accompanied with such politicke Land Captaines, as that of all the services which fell into consultations and deliberations, those most commonly, which were unfeasable, were offered to bee undertaken, and things more likely and reasonable neglected. Whereby our affaires speed accordingly. And in this regard that this discent was not by my Lord Generall his viewers, allowed of, as fit for the

Army to land at, so many Ensignes being placed and intrenched there to impeach us, it was presently by another consultation agreed, that the Reare-Admirall should with all the strength of the Fleet, lye as neere before the Towne of Saint Michael, as conveniently they could, to hold them in expectation, whilest my Lord Generall and the rest, with two thousand men imbarked into small Barkes and Pinnaces, secretly in the night did convey themselves about the point, to land at a Towne called Villa Franca, some sixe miles further then the first determinate landing. And for that purpose, they had most of all our Boats with them, and three English men for their guides, that perfectly knew all the Ilands and the Townes, by long trade and living amongst them. These three guides assured our Generall both of a quiet landing, and of a very faire and secret way, to march from thence to Saint Michaels Towne. *Villa Franca.*

Our troupes being thus shipped, and our Generall also, they made hast towardes Villa Franca, where they arrived safe, & were al landed by the next morning, without any manner of resistance. For most of all the Town upon their arrivall abandoned the Town, and we that were left under the command of the Reare-Admirall, in the best Ships before the Towne of Saint Michaells, did all the night give them perpetuall Alarums, with Shot, Drummes, and Trumpets, in such Boats as were left, sometimes in one place, sometimes in another, alongst the shoare, where the Spaniards kept their Corps de Guards, and fiers, who were often in great amazements, calling, and running to and fro, thinking verily that wee were landing in that place or about it. And thus wee did, to give our Army the better, and more secret meanes to make their descent, and so to come unlooked for on their backes, as their very way did lie, and might in truth very conveniently have beene performed. They being thus landed, wee in the Ships did all the next day looke out apace, hoping to [IV. x. 1964.] *They land at Villa Franca.*

see our troupes come marching over the Hills and Plaines, that were perfect in our view; for the most part of the way that they were to come, being all alongst the Sea side, was in our sight more brim from the Ships by farre, then if wee had beene ashoare. But this good Towne of Villa Franca, had so welcomed and intertained our men, (being seated in a pleasant soyle, full of fruits, wines, and fresh victualls, and the Sellars stuffed so full of Oade and Wheat) as that our Army was content there to ingarrison, without any further pursuit of Saint Michaels Towne, and there for sixe dayes together they lay feasting, and carrying aboard of Oade, Wheat, Salt, and other merchandise, into certaine private mens Ships that followed the Fleet, for such purposes.

Hanibals Capua.

Whilest wee all in vaine still gaped for their comming, which wee the rather thought would have bin at the last, for that in all this time, they never so much as sent word, to make us partakers of their determination to the contrary, whereby they would be sure wee should neither participate any of their Commodities, nor see the disposure of them; although wee cast many conjectures and aymed neere the marke, finding this lingring very strange. But, to doe right to every man, I assure my selfe, our Generall had no benefit of these wares and commodities, being of a disposition too noble and bountifull to valiew such trifles worth his regard. For it had beene easie for him to have abounded with wealth and possessions, without following the fortune of the warres, or the hazard of the Seas, if hee had aymed at such common markes. But in this meane while, as wee in the great Ships, ancored in Saint Michaels Road, there came in about the Point that lies westwards from the Towne, a small Brasil man, and let fall his Ancor in the middest of us all. A little after him, wee might discerne aloofe off a mightie huge Carack, bearing in with all sayles toward us, whom shee tooke to bee the Spanish Armada. And

The Earle excused.

A Brasil man.

A mightie Carack.

the Brasil man confessed that hee thought the same also: for the King of Spaines men of Warre (when he makes Fleets) are compounded of the shipping of divers Nations, and therefore the more hardly to bee distinguished from ours, which was at that time compounded of English, and Holland Bottoms; besides one great Spanish Gallion, called the Saint Andrew, and some other lesser Spanish Vessels that wee had taken before. Now there blew a stiffe gale from the Land, over Saint Michaels Towne, in such sort, that shee must either put roome into the Sea, or fall upon us. For as the wind then stood, she could not run in with the Towne or Fort by no meanes, neither was it any part of their meaning.

As soone as wee had made her to bee a Carrack, wee tooke in all our Flags by a generall commandement from our Reare-Admiral: and withall directions were given, that no man should once weigh an Ancor, or shoot off a Peece, or put off a Boat, but with leave or order. All this while she still bare in with us, with all sayles to the Boates end, when suddenly one of the Holland Squadron (contrary to al discretion & the direction before) weighed his Ancors, hoised his top sailes, & made towards this Carack, now ready to double the Poynt that entred the Road where we lay: and when the Hollander came neere the Carack, hee presently made two or three Shot at her. Whereupon shee discovering us to bee Enemies, changed her course, and at the very instant (in the view of us al that observed it, as if shee had had the wind at her devotion) the gale changed, & came full of the Seas: with the helpe whereof, and with the feare of falling into our hands, shee tooke a resolution to runne her selfe a ground, hard under the Towne and Fort. Which done, from thence there presently came multitudes of Boats, fetching away their men and best wares, and that done, shee was instantly by them set on fire in many places at once, being full of great Ordnance, as

Greedinesse loseth his morsell.

The Carack ran herselfe on ground.

She was set on fire.

Examples of Cades voyage.

appeared by the report they made. Such is now the custome and obstinacie of all those Sea-faring men under the Spanish jurisdiction, as that by reason of the severe order, set downe by the King to that effect, they will carelesly burne their Ships, and wares, if they can escape themselves, rather then to grow to any composition to save halfe thereby. And the like was seene at Cades, by the Fleet that was outwards bound for the Indies: who after they had entertained a parley with us, to compound for their Ships, and all the merchandize, at a ransome of halfe the valew: whilest they amused us with this colourable pretence, thereby they gained time to steale out some of their goods, and afterwards set the Shippes on fire, where they road. But this argueth as great severitie in the Soveraigne, as slavery in the subject.

This Carrack was a Ship of infinite wealth, that at Saint Hellens watering as shee came from the East Indies, put over to Brasil, and so coasted alongst the West Indies, and was fraughted with the riches and wares both of the East and West. Wee hasted all wee could when wee saw her a ground, tottering and reeling, with those few Boats wee had left, to have entred her. But before wee could make us readie, or come neere her, being three miles off, shee was on light fire in many places, her Ordnance thundring off apace, and too hot to bee approached, much lesse to bee entred at that time, without inevitable destruction. And yet such hast was made to have prevented this mischiefe, that divers had like by overcharging Boates and Pinnaces, to have foundred in the Seas, the Billowes going very high. And in that case was our Reare-Admirall amongst others, who for hast to this banquet tooke his Row Barge, and was so ill able in her to indure the Seas that were rough, and went high at that time, as that I by chance seeing him so ill bested, & in danger was faine to clap him aboord with a good stout shipboat that I was in, having made

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hast also to that feast as fast as I could. But in conclusion wee came all too late, for the broth was growne too hot for our supping. To behold her thus flaming was a grievous sight to us, but a most wretched spectacle for the Portugalls, so to see their goods by their owne deedes and fury, to perish with fire and water in a goodly vessell, judged to bee 1800. Tunnes at the least. Shee was a whole night, and all the next day in burning, and in beholding her, you might have seene the very shape, Cordage, Masts, and Furniture of a Ship so perfectly in fire, as no Painter could have halfe so well resembled it with Art, or Colours. And when she was cleane consumed to the water, there arose still a great smoake out of the Sea for many houres after, by reason of some close Decks full of Spices and Sugar under water, which the fire had taken hold of.

Carack of 1800. Tuns.

This Tragedy overpast, wee then fell againe to looke out for our Army comming, but all in vaine. For if in any time, for sixe dayes together after their landing, they had come forwards from Villa Franca, the Towne of Saint Michaels, and the Carack also had beene our owne, safe without question. For if our forces had in all that time invested themselves of the Towne (which they might have done, there being neither Walles nor Bulwarkes to hold them out) the Carack would have runne her selfe a ground, under the Towne as shee did: or if shee had, then had shee fallen into the hands of our Generall, and his Troupes: or, if shee had kept a Sea-boord, then had shee fallen into the mercy of our Fleet, which by no meanes she could have escaped. But it was a losse then as inexcusable, as lamentable, for that no good reason could bee yeelded (as was thought) nor durst bee demanded, why so gallant a Company, so easily landed for so good a purpose, should so long linger in a little Towne, surfetting themselves and the whole Army, upon Fruits and Wine, to the neglecting of the service determined.

But it was manifest, that besides their pleasure and good cheer, the great store of Oade, Corne, and Salt, did intice some Land men of good credite, (who had Ships there of their owne) rather to take the peaceable, and private benefit thereof, then to undergoe some paine and perill, for the winning of Saint Michaels Towne, for the publike good. And this was a piece of service very unfortunately neglected, but upon what good reason I could never learne. And I am perswaded, that if his Lordship had built lesse upon some mens violent counsells, and vaine conceits, hee might have done many things better, and long have lived in great prosperitie. But all his care was to content and winne unto him, certaine Polititians and Marshall men, whom notwithstanding (according to the custome of the world) hee found many times ungratefully to deale with him, to serve their owne turnes, drawing him withall into ambitious humours, and affectation of popularitie, which, with our Great men rarely succeeds well. And very strange it was, to see so many great fortunes lost in this one journey; but that the very Heavens did in them (like Commets) foreshew the heavy and lamentable destiny, that traced our Generall towards his end, whose bright shining felicitie was soone after eclipsed, and admirably metamorphosed into ruine and destruction. Onely this comfort remained to his friends, that hee ended his life with as great resolution, pietie, and penetencie, as was possible to bee expressed in the countenance or words of a man, utterly divorced from the world, and wholly devoted to celestiall Contemplation, to the undoubted comfort of his Soule.

We, from the ships looking thus stil in vaine, for those that neither came nor sent unto us, wherby we lost all opportunitie of watering and refreshing our selves: for we in the Wastspite, and divers of our Consorts, had not watered since our setting out from Plimouth) began to resolve to goe to our Generall, seeing wee could never heare from him in all that

time. And as we were entring into this deliberation, wee might perceive the Admiralls Ship by her Flag turning out from the point of Villa Franca: And two dayes before, many of our great Ships had left the Reare-Admirall, contrary to the Generall his order, which wee durst not breake in the Wastspite, by a late caveat, because it was flat contrarie to that which was appointed by a Councell, and the Generall his command. But as soone as wee had descried the Admirall (by his Flag) putting roome; our Reare-Admirall tooke his Barge, and Captaine Morgan with him, and rowed to him: and the same night sent Captaine Morgan backe againe, with directions in the Generalls name, to command all the Fleet to weigh, and to come for Villa Franca. This was no little griefe to us all, that had so long and diligently waited on Saint Michaels Towne, and looked to have had a better account of that place, then so barely and abruptly to leave it after all these offers. And (to say the truth) it was either a grosse oversight, or a wilfull fault unexcusable to the State, that it was not in better sort mannaged. For (no doubt) they would willingly have ransomed their Towne, rather then have abidden the fortune of the Warres by Sword and Fire, and wee had amongst us, men of sufficient experience to deale in such compositions, which (for ought I know) they might doe. Thus, with griefe and discontent we left [IV. x. 1966.] Saint Michaels good Towne, the Inhabitants whereof waving their Auncients, and shooting off their Ordnance, in great joy triumphed to see this unexpected modest departure of the whole Fleet, on a sudden without any further trouble: And to mee it was strange to see the Coronells and Captaines, that a little before were so forward and violent to have landed at the Tercera, being a place so difficult to attempt, and of so great strength, to bee now so slow to come forwards to Saint Michaels Towne, that had neither Ditch nor Wall about it, they being already landed for that purpose.

But now approached the time of the yeere, that brings with it violent stormes, and extreame foule weather to those Ilands. In regard whereof, as also for that opportunitie was now past of doing any more good to our selves, or damage to our Enemies; upon the meeting of the whole Fleet before Villa Franca, a generall commandement was given, that all sorts should with all speed repaire aboord their owne Ships, for the Wind and Seas began to rise too high to ride there any longer. And now our last worke, was to provide for our returning againe into England: And therupon all the hast and preparation that could bee, was made with the helpe of the small Pinnaces and Boates to convey all our troupes aboord. Wherein, the best sort of Commanders spared no paines nor travaile, and especially our Generall himselfe, who in his owne person was twice in very great danger of tumbling into the Seas, about the imbarking of the Souldiers, in over-charging his own Boat with those unruely people, amongst whom at such times, it is hard to keep any order or moderation. And much trouble there was (considering the rough weather, and how the Seas rowled) to get all our Land men aboord. Besides, our Ships began to find more tickle ryding in that wild Road, then wee should have done eight dayes before at Gratiosa, where wee lost the Indian Fleet by tarrying one night. But now at our departure from Villa Franca, for a farewell the Spaniards and Portugues presented us with a brave skirmish, which being throughly answered, the Generall there did make certaine Knights. Our Army being thus brought aboord, and many sicke men amongst them, by reason of their lavish diet ashoare, where they more weakened themselves then the Enemy. This Towne also was left intire, neither fired not demolished. But upon what considerations I know not, unlesse out of gratitude for the hospitalitie, Oade, Corne, and Salt, which it had alreadie yeelded: or else out of a provident regard

Preparation for returne.

Knights made.

to leave them in case to bee able to entertaine us another time, or rather for some pettie ransome to some particular persons that were more capable then our Generall, in vouchsafing to take any benefit whatsoever. For sure I am, that some reason there was, if I could light on it, wherein the Oademongers, and Corne Merchants might doe well to helpe mee, for they (I thinke) can ayme neerest to the marke.

Their returne.

The ninth of October, 1597. wee set saile from Villa Franca for England, with a faire leading winde for three or foure dayes together, and then it grew scanter and scanter, and at last starke nought and flat in our teeths, with such great stormes, foule weather, and exceeding high grown Seas, as that many of our Fleet were much puzzeled in the nights in falling foule one of another. Insomuch that the Mary Rose, by meere carelesnesse of the Master, and his Mates, had like to have stemmed the Wastspite, if wee had not beene very carefull and diligent to avoid the sudden and emminent danger: which, yet wee escaped so narrowly, as that the Mary Rose, with her Beake head, tore away all the Gallery on the Lardboord side of the Wastspite. This storme on a sudden separated all the Fleet, and wee in the Wastspite after this shocke, had sundry dangerous leakes breake out upon us, in such sort, as that much to doe wee had by pumping and all other meanes to keepe her above water, being a very new ship, but withall the weakest built Vessell that ever swam in the Seas of her burden, and carrying such great store of huge Ordnance as shee did, most of the which wee were inforced to strike downe into hold, to ease her labouring sides that hourely were like to flye asunder. Besides all this, wee were in so great want of Fresh-water and drinke, as that I offered to give to one of the Victuallers of the Fleet, sixe Chests of Sugar, for sixe Hogsheads of Fresh-water, and yet could not have it at any hand: Insomuch as wee were faine to begin to set our great Stills on worke, to

Want of water.

Stills.

provide for the worst the best wee could. For if the storme had longer held in that violence, wee might have taken the choice, whether we would have beene drenched in the Salt-water, or choaked aboord our Ship for want of fresh. For with the extreamitie of this Northeasterly storme, we were put back cleane from our course and coast, into no little despaire. And as wee in the Wastspite, so were all the rest of the Fleet (as I after learned) dispersed asunder, insomuch that scarcely two ships in all the Navie kept company together. But at last it pleased God, to send us more faire and fit windes, wherewith wee brought our selves againe into our due course, and within three or foure dayes wee began to meet with one another, straggling and ranging in the Seas. And after that, wee in the Wastspight chanced also to descry our Generall, by his mayne Flag (as farre as wee could ken) wayted on onely with two little Barkes, who sixe or seven dayes before, was attended with fourscore sayle of good Ships. A true type of this worlds inconstant pompe, which the winde and Seas did faithfully teach us not to build too much upon. And I would our noble Generall, for his owne sake and better fortune, had made that good observation thereof.

When wee had thus met our Generall, and had [IV. x. 1967.] hayled and saluted one another, with all the joy that might bee, wee conferred of our course, and began to consult thereof with the advise of our Masters and Pylots. Wherein, ours in the Wast-spight somewhat varyed from the opinion of the Generals Navigatours, but yet we submitted our selves, and our skill, to the wisedome and authoritie of his Ship, whose Directions wee were to follow. And withall, wee made knowne unto his Lordship our great leakes, and scarsitie of Drinke, who told us very Honourably, that we should want no helpe that hee could yeeld us, and therefore he straightly charged us to keepe his course, and to follow his Light, which wee did observe, though our Master

was very unwilling thereunto, assuring himselfe, that our Generals Master was mistaken, and besides his course, by too much crediting the perswasions and Art of one John Davis a great Navigator reputed, who at that time sayled much of his Pilotage, and conjecture for the Sleeve, to the no little hazard of the whole Fleet, as afterwards was seene. During this forenamed Storme, sundry Birds came flying into our Ships, when wee were two hundred leagues from our owne Coast. First, there fell into us an Owle, then a Tassell, and a *Birds.* Falcon, one of the which wee tooke, and brought into England, then at the last, a Dove lighted on our Maine-yard, which we all liked well, and tooke it as a presage of faire weather towards, and so (thankes bee to God) it succeeded presently after two dayes. After wee had thus met with our Generall, and being well advanced on our way for the Sleeve, and as we conjectured not farre from the entrance of the Channell, wee began of all hands to fall a sounding for ground, and the next day found it, though indeed by that sounding I saw few the wiser, or the more assured of the Coast. For it was the Banke of Silley, but none could say so, nor then so judge it, but onely the Master of our Ship, whose name was Broadbant, a carefull man and a right good Marriner. For in the Generals ship, they were all of a contrary opinion, and according to their Errour shaped their course, with straight commandement given to us, and to the rest that were in his traine, to follow his Light and course. The which we did very diligently, my selfe indeed being most in fault for it. For the Master was loath so to doe, but that I urged our dutie to the Generals commandement, and our danger in breaking it by former experience. And therefore I watched, and stood by the Helme, and Bitackle, most part of that night, to see it performed, though with much repining of the Master, and his Mates, against this dangerous Course as they tearme it.

This sounding of ours, so much in practice, and yet

many times bringing no great certainty withall, makes me now call to minde, an odde conceit and speech of a Spanish Prisoner, which the Generall gave me in this Journey, but never yeelded me other Ransome then some faire promises, and smooth discourses: For hee after cousened or bribed his keeper (a Captaine of a Pinnace) to whom I had committed him in charge, and very cleanely conveyed himselfe away, without ever bidding me farewell. Howbeit others found better fruites of their Prisoners, which the Generall gave unto them.

This Spaniard of mine was a Gentleman, and a Souldier, but had of late yeeres, traded the West Indies by way of Merchandize: With whom I one day talking and discoursing of their Voyages and Navigations (wherein hee was very well experienced) amongst other things hee told me, that in their Navigation from the Indies, they sought out Spaine in a more certaine and gallant manner, then wee did England. For (said he) wee seeke out our Coast aloft with our Eyes, by the Heavens, by the Sunne, and Starres, and with the use of Art, and Instruments, which seldome or never fayles. But you (said he) that seeke for England, when you are to runne into narrow Seas, are (as I heare say) inforced for your surest Directions (like men blindfold) to search under the water, and to scrape with Lead and Tallow to the bottome for Bankes, Sands, and Shelves, as if you would rake Hell for instructions; to finde out the Channell, which you call the Sleeve, and yet for all your soundings, are oftentimes mistaken. I answered him againe, indeed it was true, that our Humilitie taught us, to goe by the ground: Whereas their Pride led them to gaze above the Clouds, and by that meanes so dazeled their Eyes, as that they did often stumble upon such men of Warre, that now used as well to sound Spanish Pockets, as the English Sleeve. Whereat my Spaniard smiling, and shaking his Head, said, hee could not well denie it, having so lately made too true experience thereof. For indeed hee

was throughly rifled and ransackt of good short Wares, before that ever hee came to my hands. These words of his I remembred, and found true upon our soundings, and the uncertaine conjectures thereof, with varieties of opinions.

For after wee had all found ground, all that Night wee held on so precisely in following our Generals light, as that very earely in the Morning, with the first peepe of day, wee in the Wast-spight looking about, found our selves on the North-side of Sylley. Which when with cold comfort wee had perfectly made, and perceived with all our narrow escapes in that darke Night, hard alongst the Rockes called the Bishop, and his Clarkes: wee began of all hands to looke out for our comforts. And then wee discryed our Generall and divers with him, advanced some three leagues before us, bearing in with all Sayles towards the Coast of Wales.

The morning was very close and foggie; and the Generall steering North-east, in stead of East and by North, ranne right with the Sands of the Welch Coast, on which in that darke weather hee had stricken; and perished, if hee had held on, but a few houres longer. But on the contrary, although wee resolved not to lose the sight of his Lanthorne, yet wee kept our selves as farre to the East as wee could, and yet wee were scarce able to double Silley, but fell close aboord it, and a little to the North of it, at the breake of day. All which when I perceived (the later Watch being mine, and the Reare Admirall being gone to rest) I did instantly command the Master Gunner to shoot off a great Piece to cause them to looke about, but both our Master, and the Master Gunner were so mad at me for forcing them to follow this course, as that they would hardly have suffered a warning Piece to bee shot, but said, they deserved to taste the perill of their owne wilfulnesse, having brought themselves and all the Fleet, cleane out of the way into this danger. And out of very rage and discontent, these men had quite [IV. x. 1968.]

forgotten all Dutie and Charitie, and would by no meanes have bestowed a shot upon them, to alter them from that unsafe course, but that I urged their Dutie, and inforced them to shoot, and shoot againe three or foure times, one after another, much against their wills.

Whereupon we might within a little time, plainly perceive our Admirall with all his Traine, to tacke about, finding their owne Errours, as afterwards they confessed. And therefore presently they beat it up, to double the Cape of Silley, thereby to enter the Sleeve, which with much adoe they performed. But we in the Wast-spight, being now by this time shot in alongst the North side of Cornewall, almost as farre as Saint Ives, our ship being extreame weake and leakie, and our Drinke and Water come to the last cast, at very bare allowance, wee durst not againe put to the Seas in these wants, and in a Vessell so ill able to beat it up against the winde, to double againe the Point of Silley, whereby to recover the Sleeve. And therefore stood alongst the Coast, and that night anchored before Saint Ives, where wee found sundry Spanish Caravels, and Flee-boates of the Spanish Fleet, which was set out under the Adelantado, to have incountred us at our returne from the Ilands, but were all dispersed and tossed with the same Storme, that before had scattered us, which fell out very happily. For if wee had met, wee must have tryed the Battell, chiefely by Boording, or else trusted to our Sayles, for that our best and greatest Ordnance (for the ease of our Ships in these stormes) were stricken downe under hold. So that wee should have found great disadvantage, to have incountred with a Navie, comming strong and fresh from the Maine, and wee tired, and scattered a sunder, with a long and painfull Voyage. Herein was Gods favour and mercy mightily shewed towards all sides: For by this Storme, which so furiously for the time afflicted us, were wee, and that Spanish Fleet under the Adelantado

Spanish Fleet dispersed.

severed, and kept from incountring, which had cost much blood, and mischiefe: and to say a truth, in all likelihood, the worst might have fallen to our shares.

For when wee had left the Ilands and were once crosse sayled for England, I observed, that before the Storme, divers of our best Ships, made all the haste they could homewards, never following nor attending the Admirals course, nor light. Which is an Errour too much used amongst us, and very disorderly and dangerous; as would have beene well found, if the Adelantado had then met with any of those straglers, or with the Admirall himselfe homewards bound, so slenderly accompanied. *Disorderly haste homewards.*

Which manner of disorder and scattering, in the Conduct of a Royall Navie, especially in so long a Voyage, is very fit to bee straightly reformed.

These Spanish Flee-boates and Caravels, had made many landings by stealth, on that side of Cornewall, and put the Countrey in great frights, and amazements: especially, upon the report of a great Fleet, that was comming after them for England. Whereupon our Reere Admirall from before the Saint Ives, left the Seas, and went a Land, to take some order for the Countrey of Cornewall, whereof hee was then her Majesties Lieutenant, seeing it then in much amazement and feare, and so meant to goe over land to Plimouth, there to meet with our Generall.

From the Road of Saint Ives, the next morning, wee in the Wast-spight set sayle for Kingroad, and met with such foule weather, as that over against the flat Holmes, shee brake againe her Maine yard, which was before broken, and new fished in the beginning of this Voyage. But at last, with much adoe wee brought her about, to Kingroad, and within a few dayes after moored her safe in Hungroad; where I tooke speedie order for the paying, and discharging of her men, at the Spaniards cost, and also for the repayring of her decayes.

By this time wee also had newes, that our Admirall

and the rest of our Fleet, were safely met, and arrived at Plimouth. And at the same instant also wee had intelligence, by a small man of Brasill, but newly come from Corke in Ireland, that Sir John Norris President of Munster, and the Lord Burgh Deputie of Ireland, were both lately deceased.

Death of Sir John Norris and Lord Burgh.

Of which two men, her Majestie and the Realme had no small losse, being both Martiall men of as great worth, and service, as England bred in many yeeres before. And although it be no part of this matter to speake of them, yet their Deathes, being divulged to us at the same time, cannot be thought unfit, or unworthy (by the way) heere to be remembred and lamented.

After I had thus taken order with the Officers of the Ship at Bristoll, I received Letters from the Lord Treasurer, and the Lord Admirall, for the accomplishing of that, which I had already (out of due consideration) gone in hand withall: I meane the discharging and paying of the Marriners and Souldiers, being to the number of foure hundred men, which would have growne to a great, and needlesse expense, to have kept them in pay and victuals untill such time as I could have sent unto the Court, to receive directions backe againe for the same. And therefore did first take up monies upon credit, and then by the Drum make knowne in Bristow, that there were Sugars, Brasilwood, and Fernanbuck aboord our Ships, which I would presently make sale of, to those that would give most for it, and not merchand it under hand, nor in secret, to the prejudice and deceiving of her Majestie. And therefore with the knowledge and advice of the Master, the Purser, and Boatswaine of the Ship, and the Customer, and Searcher of Bristow, I landed those Wares in safe Cellers, and sold them to the best Chapmen in publique, testified under the hands of these Officers of the Citie, and of the Ship, for my discharge in that behalfe, and made thereof five hundred pounds. The which summe I delivered to one Askew then Purser

[IV. x. 1969.]

of the Wast-spight, to the end that hee by his Booke might pay the Marriners, and the Souldiers by the Powle, as a care of mine for those poore men under my Charge, which was duely performed.

The which I have beene the more precise to remember and notifie, for that I tooke no small paines and care, in getting those Sugars, and Brasill-wood aboord us, out of a torne Brasill man, that was ready to founder in the Seas before Saint Michaels, and abandoned to any that would adventure to goe aboord her, to fetch away the lading. Which businesse (in that vacant time that the Armie lay at Villa Franca, and we before S. Michaels Towne) I put my selfe, and my Marriners unto. And I had not so much paines and travell in the getting, as trouble and vexation afterwards to preserve it, whilest it was aboord, when we came to Kingroad, from the purloyning and stealing of the Marriners, and Officers of the Ship. And to say no more but a truth, I dare thus much avouch, and justifie, that if there had beene in some other of her Majesties ships the like regard for these goods that were gotten, and of the Prizes taken in this Journey, and as faithfully answered as were these, that then for all the crosses and errours, that had happened, it had fully returned to her Majestie, the double value of all the Charges, she had beene at for this Voyage. But it was strange to see, what carelesse courses were held in all such actions, as were set out by the State, and what poore returnes were made againe into the Exchequer. And therefore more strange, that the Prince could subsist so often to set out, such chargeable Voyages, without any manner of getting, more then to particuler persons. For so fell it out before in the Indian Voyage, when Sancto Domingo, and Cartagena were taken, and sackt by Sir Francis Drake, and when Cades in Spaine was surprised, and sackt by the English Armie, where was infinite wealth. But that of Lisbona in Portugall, undertaken by Sir John Norris, where the Suburbes did so abound

Note touching private gaines and publike losse in many Expeditions.

with Merchandize and Spicerie, being wholly at the mercy and disposition of our Armie, was to be excused; for that our Ships kept not promise with him, in comming up the River, that should have both assisted the land Armie with Munition and Victuals, and also carried away those Spiceries and rich Merchandize: wherein the Sea-men were greatly wanting, and taxed by the generall voyce. But in this Voyage, wee all saw and knew, that there were besides Brasill men, three good Prizes taken that came from the Havana, laden with Cochynella, and other rich Merchandize, besides the Silver, Gold, Pearle, Civet, Muske, Ambergreece, which was amongst the Passengers. And those three Prizes (whereof one was about 400. Tunnes, by the report of those Merchants that came in them) were said, and valued to bee richly worth above foure hundred thousand Duckets. At the taking of them I stood in our Gallerie in the Wast-spight, with the Reere Admirall, and wee halled and called unto some, to inquire of their lading and Merchandize, and from what places they came, whereby wee learned, that they were come from the Havana very rich, and at the least to the value abovesaid. Whereupon our Reere Admirall said unto me in private, that, although wee should be little the better for these rich Prizes, yet he was heartily glad for our Generals sake: because they would in good sort give contentment to her Majestie, so that there should bee no repining against the poore Lord, for the expense of the Voyage. And for my better satisfaction in the value of them, I had caused mine owne Prisoner to give me notice of the Ships, wherein hee had Adventures, and according to the Rates thereof set downe upon his owne knowledge; those three Ships could not be so little worth as they all had formerly affirmed. Now if wee doe but looke into the husbandrie and providence of former Ages, and of the mightiest Empire, and best governed State that ever was, wee shall plainely see, that they ever

HONDIUS HIS MAP OF ENGLAND

tooke a more strict and just account of the benefit of their gettings and Victories. And that it was an especiall regard of the Roman Consuls, and Generals, at their returne from a prosperous Warre, to render a plentifull gaine into the publique Treasurie, which made their State still able to subsist in their great actions. And many times their greatest and worthiest Captaines were deepely called in question, for imbeseling any part of such gettings, as amongst others, was that famous Scipio, surnamed Africanus, prosecuted in that kinde by the Petilii, notwithstanding his many great services to the Common-wealth. But what became of all these our gettings God knowes. Onely I heare, that there was a Composition made afterwards with her Majestie for the Cochynella, and other Merchandize, not to a third part of that it was worth. For neither that, nor yet any of the other riches, could truely come to light or publique knowledge, because they were never faithfully certified under the hands and testimonies of sufficient Officers, when they were first taken: nor any of that which was preserved sold when wee came home, but onely to the Buyers advantage. And yet in Conclusion, they that had so played the wise Stewards, in so providing for themselves, and their followers, had all the grace and gaine, from those that had more carefully and justly intended the publique Service. But this generall neglect of truth and merit throughout the world, is the cause, that so few doe apply to follow those sincere and unprofitable courses: especially, seeing how many doe daily, by fraud and flatterie, finde shorter and smoother wayes to Honours, wealth, and preferment: Even beyond all measure and expectation.

Roman policie.

[The Conclusion

A.D.
1624.

[IV. x. 1970.] The Conclusion of the Worke, with some later Advertisements touching His Majesties Care for Virginia.

E have now compassed the World in the Courses of so many Planets, every of which had a peculiar wandering, and yet none erring from the publike benefit of the Universe. And as in Geometricall compasses one foote is fixed in the Centre, whiles the other mooveth in the Circumference, so is it with Purchas and his Pilgrimes, in this Geographicall compassing: they have their owne motions, but ordered in this Circumference, from, for, and by him which abideth at home in his Centre, and never travelled two hundred miles from Thaxted in Essex (lately adorned and augmented with Franchises by his Majestie) where hee was borne. All their lines tend to this Centre, and this Centre to the Basis and Ground thereof, that is to his Countrey, to the honour and benefit wherof, he and all his are due. All Nations dance in this Round to doe the English service, and English Travellers here enjoy the Mayne, others the By, to attend, and with their Travels to perfect the English, at lest the knowledge of the World to the English.

[IV. x. 1971.] Yea, in this English Centre also I have chosen the Centre of that Centre, the Renowmed Name of Queene Elizabeth, to which, because Mortalitie hath deprived us of Her Person, wee have added that of King James, the All that is left us of Queene Elizabeth, and more then that All in further perfection of Sexe and Arts. With

those auspicious Names, as the faire Starres in the Constellations of both Poles, our Pilgrimes beganne their Progresse; by the Light of those two Eyes of Great Brittaine, they have taken view of the World, and therefore heere wee end in our Pilgrimage with those two auspicious Names.

His Majestie first (for Brute is uncertaine) hath combined a Trinitie of Kingdomes into an Unitie, Fecit eos in gentem unam, & made the Ocean the Wall to his Inheritance, hath rooted out the wonted barbarisme of Borderers, of Scottish Fewds, of English Duells, of Irish Bogges; hath confirmed and settled those cruder and more indigested beginnings of our prosperitie; hath enjoyed soveraignetie longer then ever did any of Britaines Soveraignes (and still ô still may we long long enjoy him) hath given so manifold securitie against the extreamest and most fatall rigor, both in number, weight and worth of Royall pledges.

He is beyond comparison compared with others, a meere transcendent; beyond all his Predecessors, Princes of this Realme; beyond the neighbouring Princes of his own times, beyond the conceits of subjects dazled with such brightnes: Beyond our victorious Debora not in sex alone, but as Peace is more excellent then War, and Salomon then David, in this also that He is, and we enjoy his present Sunshine; in regard of posteritie not onely sowing thereto the fruit of his bodie, but of his learned mind, like a Salomon indeed by voluminous Writings, and not (which is more usesuall to Princes,) with apophthegme-flashes, recorded by others like Saul sometime among the Prophets; a Miracle and Oracle both, this in polemicall, politicall, problematicall, apocalyptticall, positive Theology, and Bookes of devotion also; that, in that his Royall body hath had the honour not to be polluted with women; above men, above Salomon. And as wee have travelled abroad that wee may bring forraine rarities home, wee find no greater raritie abroad or at home then his Majestie, the Father of the Clergie [IV. x. 1972.] 1. *Sam.* 10.

the raiser of so many Families to honour, and of honours to Families; whose bountie and clemencie none deny, (let others beware least they perhaps have evill eyes, because his is good) so honoured of his Subjects with awfull love, with loving awe, that himselfe hath professed no King herein his superiour: and we can, and all History will professe with us, that England never enjoyed better daies then under her deceased Mother, and the present Pater Patriæ, who hath secured Britaine in peace and prosperitie, whiles all Christian Kingdomes have beene shaken with warres; and that which alone hath escaped the Lions, hath beene bitten by the Adder, the Spanish Dominions being coasted, braved, spoiled of thousands of their people, besides wealth and security, by the basest of enemies, the Algier Pirates. Thus at home doth Great Britain enjoy this Gem of Goodnes, the best part of the Ring of the worlds Greatnes: & abroad, we see that as Gods Steward to others also, His Majestie hath ballanced the neerer World by his prudence, by justice of commerce visited the remoter, by truest fortitude without wrong to any man conquered the furthest North, and by justest temperance disposed the overflowing numbers of his Subjects, not in Intrusions and Invasions of weaker Neighbours, but in the spacious American Regions, (some thinly, others not all inhabited) to breed New Britaines in another World. We have given Voyages thorow this Booke, and being now returned home and fixed on so illustrious a Name, I meane to travell no more, here I hang up my Pilgrims weeds; here I fixe my Tabernacle, it is good to bee here: wee have brought all the World to England, England it selfe to the greatest of her Soveraignes, King James.

But yet the mention of his Majesties Plantations, makes me gratefully to mention his gracious care of the same, even since the former Virginian Relations were printed. I then left Virginia with some griefe and sorrow, because of her distracted Children and Fathers, the divisions and mutuall distasts of the Company here and Planters there,

HONDIUS HIS MAP OF GREAT BRITAINE

sighing to God for them, who hath put in his Majesties heart to compassionate these his Subjects, and having appointed the Government to be according to a Commission in that Case directed, hath to further Virginias gaine beene content to suffer the losse of many thousands yeerly in his Royall Customes arising out of Tobacco (so I have heard delivered in open Court) that so only that of the New Plantations may bee vendible till the Colonie may recover greater strength.

His Majestie is also pleased to send a Running Armie of Souldiers to scoure the Countrey of the unneighbourly malicious Naturalls; and to secure the planters from their privie ambushments. For openly they dare not attempt, but lurking in secret places attend advantages. I feare not but so bright a Sunshine will quickly produce blessed effects.

Of their undertakers for three yeeres Tobacco, I lust not to speake, because I wish, and even from that undertaking, shortly expect better commodities from thence then Tobacco. I cannot but magnifie His Majesties care, and manifest that also of the Honorable Lords of the Councel, who after diligent search of Virginian Affaires the last yeere 1623. appointed Captaine John Harvey, Master John Porey, Master Abraham Persey, Master Samuel Matthews to search further into the diseases and possible remedies of that plantation. In Februarie and March last a generall [IV. x. 1973.] Assembly was summoned, and questions propounded to Sir Francis Wiat Governour and the said Assembly: First, what places in the Countrey were best and most proper to be fortified or maintayned both against Indians or other Enemies. Secondly, concerning the present state of the Colonie in reference to the Savages. Thirdly, touching the hopes really to be conceived of the Plantation, and fourthly touching the Meanes thereunto, &c. Their answere I know not whether I may publish in other things; In this one I presume, for better confirmation of what hath beene said before to incite and confirme Mens

affections to Virginia; namely their answere to the third, subscribed (as the rest) by about thirty chiefe mens hands. We hold it to be one of the goodliest parts of the Earth, abounding with Navigable rivers full of varietie of Fish and Fowle; falling from high and steepe Mountaines, which by generall relation of the Indians are rich with Mines of Gold, Silver, and Copper: another Sea lying within sixe dayes journey beyond them, into which other Rivers descend. The soile fruitfull and apt to produce the best sorts of commodities, replenished with many Trees for severall uses, Gums, Dyes, Earths and Simples of admirable vertues; Vines and Mulbery Trees growing wild in great quantities; the Woods full of Deare, Turkies, and other Beasts and Birds. Sir Thomas Gates and Sir Thomas Dales reports to the Company, concerning those praises were in no part hyperbolicall, nor any Countrey more worthy of a Princes care and support-ance. Other reports concerning the healthfulnesse of the aire (especially where the ground is cleered of woods) and other needfull provisions of the plantation in numbers of Men and Armes (which some had hyperbolically disgraced) and in all other necessaries, seeing the late massacre hath not permitted it better, I am glad & rejoyce that it is no worse, and hope and pray for the fortunate increase thereof daily. I rejoyce also to heare (by one lately returned thence, Master Morell a Minister and man of credit) that the affaires of New England are thriving and hopefull, which two Colonies of Virginia and New England (with all their Neighbours) God make as Rachel and Leah, which two did build the house of Israel, that they may multiply into thousands, and there inlarge the Israel of God, and the Churches Catholike confines, doing worthily in America, and being famous in Great Britaine. These, with the rest of his Majesties Dominions, and his neerest and deerest possession, Prince Charles his Highnesse, the Count Palatine, the Lady Elizabeth (more shining, more pure in her fiery trialls, and like the pressed palme, and her Royall Godmother, spreading her boughes the more by greater

There is report also of an English Colony left by C. North in Guiana still continuing. Rush. 4. 11.

weight) with the sweet and princely Fruits of her wombe,
still multiplied (like the Israelites under the Crosse)
God preserve and prosper unto the Majesty
of our Dread Soveraigne, the mighty
Defender of the True Faith,
KING JAMES;

Amen O Amen.

* *
*

The end of the tenth Booke.

FINIS.

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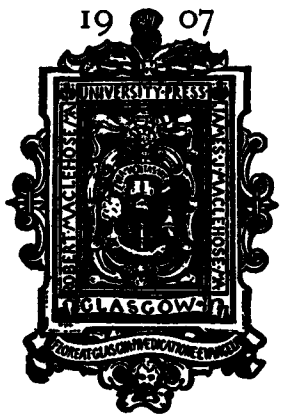

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of men, and behind them as many women, with all their heads and shoulders painted red; many of their heads bedecked with the white downe of Birds; but every one with something: and a great chayne of white beads about their necks. At his entrance before the King, all the people gave a great shout. The Queene of Appamatuck was appointed to bring him water to wash his hands, and another brought him a bunch of feathers, in stead of a Towell to dry them: having feasted him after their best barbarous manner they could, a long consultation was held, but the conclusion was, two great stones were brought before Powhatan: then as many as could layd hands on him, dragged him to them, and thereon laid his head, and being ready with their clubs, to beate out his braines, Pocahontas the Kings dearest daughter, when no intreaty could prevaile, got his head in her armes, and laid her owne upon his to save him from death: whereat the Emperour was contented he should live to make him hatchets, and her bells, beads, and copper: for they thought him aswell of all occupations as themselves. For the King himselfe will make his owne robes, shooes, bowes, arrowes, pots; plant, hunt, or doe any thing so well as the rest. *How Pocahontas saved his life.*

They say he bore a pleasant shew,
But sure his heart was sad.
For who can pleasant be, and rest,
That lives in feare and dread:
And having life suspected, doth
It still suspected lead.

Two dayes after, Powhatan having disguised himselfe in the most fearefullest manner he could, caused Cap^t^. Smith to be brought forth to a great house in the woods, and there upon a mat by the fire to be left alone. Not long after from behinde a mat that divided the house, was made the most dolefullest noyse he ever heard; then Powhatan more like a devill then a man with some two hundred more as blacke as himselfe, came unto him and *How Powhatan sent him to James Towne.*

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taines or Rockes, neither are they destitute of Vines, and many fruites. In the said valley of Hieromy, certaine Arabians which seemed to be mowers of corne, flew upon us like fierce dogges, yet our Muccaro sent them away content with the gift of a bisket, and in like sort in another narrow passage of the mountaines, he paied some meidines for cafar, which he never demanded of us, being content with the money we had paied him at Ramma. Upon a high Rocke we did see the ruines of the Castle Modon, where the Machabees were buried. Then we discended into the Valley of Terebintho, (so called of a Tree bearing a black fruit like an Olive, & yeelding a kind of oyle), where we passed over a Torrent by a bridge of stone, and this is the place famous for the victory of David against Goliah.

Fierce Arabians.

[I. iii. 217.]

Modon.

David and Goliah.

We had now some two miles to Jerusalem, yet in the very Haven, we wanted little of perishing. For it happened that a Spachi (or Horse-man under the great Turkes pay) riding swiftly, and crossing our way, suddenly turned towards us, and with his speare in his rest, (for these horse-men carry speares & bucklers like Amadis of Gaule) he rushed upon us with all his might, and by the grace of God his speare lighting in the pannell of the Asse, never hurt the French-man his Rider, but he did much astonish both him and us, till our Muccaro enquiring the cause of this violence, he said, why doe not these dogges light on foot to honour mee as I passe; which when we heard, and knew that we must here learne the vertue of the beasts on which we rode, we presently tumbled from our Asses, (for we had no other stirrops then knotted ropes), and bended our bodies to him. Neither did we therein basely, but very wisely: for woe be to that Christian who resists any Turke, especially a Souldier, and who beares not any injury at their hands. We had but one mile to Jerusalem, when we did see large ruines (on this West side of the City) of an old City or Village. Somewhat after noone the fourth of June, we entered Jerusalem upon the West side, at the

Danger from a Spachi.

Jerusalem.

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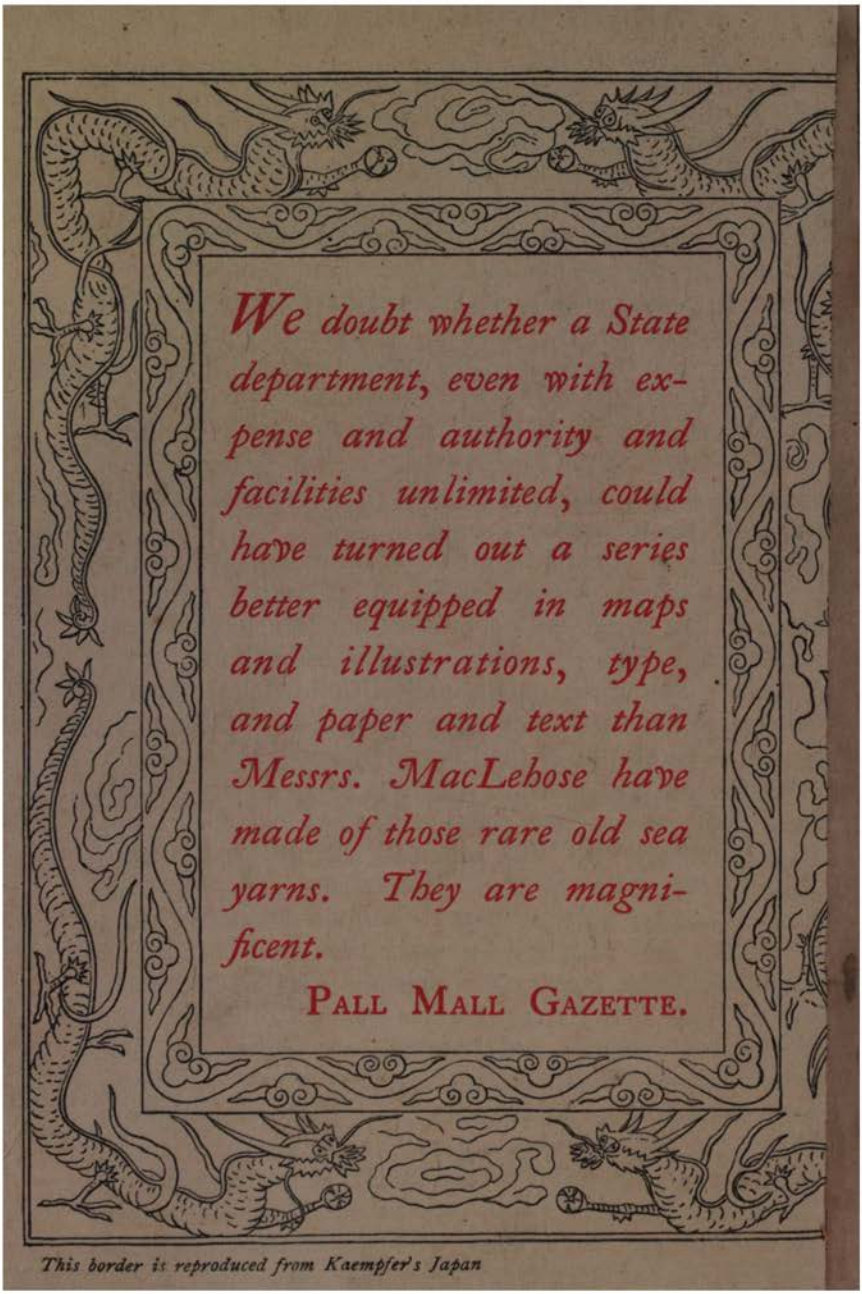
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